

The JOURNAL of
SOUTHERN
HISTORY

VOL. 7

FEBRUARY, 1941

No. 1



Published quarterly by the
SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Journal of Southern History

VOLUME VII

FEBRUARY, 1941

NUMBER 1

Published Quarterly by
THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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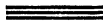
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Entered as second-class matter April 5, 1935, at the Post Office at University, Louisiana, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

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The Fundamental Cause of the Civil War: Egocentric Sectionalism

BY FRANK L. OWSLEY

In this meeting of the Southern Historical Association great emphasis has been placed upon a re-examination of numerous phases of our history relating to the Civil War.¹ While several papers have dealt with certain forces which helped bring about the Civil War, none has attempted a general synthesis of causes. This synthesis has been the task assumed by the retiring president of the Association.

Before attempting to say what were the causes of the American Civil War, first let me say what were not the causes of this war. Perhaps the most beautiful, the most poetic, the most eloquent statement of what the Civil War was not fought for is Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. That address will live as long as Americans retain their love of free government and personal liberty; and yet in reassessing the causes of the Civil War, the address whose essence was that the war was being fought so "that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth" is irrelevant. Indeed, this masterpiece of eloquence has little if any value as a statement of the basic principles underlying the war.

The Civil War was not a struggle on the part of the South to destroy free government and personal liberty nor on the part of the North to preserve them. Looked at from the present perspective of the worldwide attempt of the totalitarians to erase free governments and nations

¹ This paper was read as the presidential address before the Southern Historical Association at Charleston, South Carolina, November 8, 1940.

living under such governments from the face of the earth, the timeworn stereotype that the South was attempting the destruction of free government and the North was fighting to preserve it seems very unrealistic and downright silly. In the light of the present-day death struggle between freedom and the most brutal form of despotism, the Civil War, as far as the issue of free government was involved, was a sham battle. Indeed, both northern and southern people in 1861 were alike profoundly attached to the principles of free government. A systematic study of both northern and southern opinion as expressed in their newspapers, speeches, diaries, and private letters, gives irrefutable evidence in support of this assertion. Their ideology was democratic and identical. However, theoretical adherence to the democratic principles, as we know all too well in these days of plutocratic influences in our political life, is not sufficient evidence that democratic government exists. I believe that I shall not be challenged in the assertion that the economic structure of a section or a nation is the foundation upon which its political structure must rest. For this reason, therefore, it will be necessary to know what the economic foundations of these sections were. Was the economic structure of the North such as to support a political democracy in fact as well as in form? And was the economic structure of the South such as to permit the existence of free government? Time does not permit an extended treatment of this subject; it will be possible only to point out certain conclusions based upon recent research. By utilizing the county tax books and the unpublished census reports a group of us conducting a co-operative undertaking have been able to obtain a reasonably accurate and specific picture of wealth structure of the ante-bellum South, and to some extent that of the other sections. We have paid particular attention to the distribution of capital wealth and the ownership of the means of production. As has been generally known the Northwest was agricultural and its population predominantly small farmers, though a considerable minority were large farmers comparable with the southern planters. It seems that in 1860 about 80 per cent of the farmers in the Old Northwest were landowners. A fairly large fraction of the remaining farm population in that

area were either squatters upon public lands or were the members of landowning families. Only a small per cent were renters. In those areas farther west the ownership of land was not as widespread because the farmers had not yet made good their titles to the lands that they had engrossed. Taken as a whole the people of the Northwest were economically self-sufficient. They could not be subjected to economic coercion and, hence, they were politically free. Their support of free government—as they understood it—was effective.

The northeastern section of the United States had already assumed its modern outlines of a capitalistic-industrial society where the means of production were either owned or controlled by a relatively few. That is to say, New England and the middle states were fast becoming in essence a plutocracy whose political ideology was still strongly democratic; but the application of this democratic ideology was being seriously hampered by the economic dependence of the middle and lower classes upon those who owned the tools of production. The employee unprotected by government supervision or by strong labor organizations was subject in exercising his political rights to the undue influence of the employer.

To sum up: the economic structure of the Northwest was an adequate foundation for free government; but that of the East, though still supporting democratic ideals, was often too weak to sustain these ideals in actual government.

Turning to the South which was primarily agricultural we find the situation completely contradictory to what has usually been assumed. While the plutocracy of the East owned or controlled the means of production in industry and commerce, the so-called slave oligarchy of the South owned scarcely any of the land outside the black belt and only about 25 per cent of the land in the black belt. Actually, the basic means of production in the black belt and in the South as a whole was well distributed among all classes of the population. The overwhelming majority of southern families in 1860 owned their farms and livestock. About 90 per cent of the slaveholders and about 70 per cent of the nonslaveholders owned the land which they farmed. The bulk of slave-

holders were small farmers and not oligarchs. While taken together they owned more slaves and more land than the big planters, taken individually the majority of slaveholders owned from one to four slaves and less than three hundred acres of land. The nonslaveholders, 70 per cent of whom, as we have noted, were landowners were not far removed economically from the small slaveholders to whom we have just referred. While the majority of slaveholders owned from one to three hundred acres of land, 80 per cent of the landowning nonslaveholders owned from one to two hundred acres of land and 20 per cent owned from two hundred to a thousand. Let me repeat: the basic fact disclosed in an analysis of the economic structure of the South, based upon the unpublished census reports and tax books, is that the overwhelming majority of white families in the South, slaveholders and nonslaveholders, unlike the industrial population of the East, owned the means of production. In other words, the average Southerner like the average Westerner possessed economic independence; and the only kind of influence that could be exercised over his political franchise by the slave oligarchy was a strictly persuasive kind. The South, then, like the Northwest, not only held strongly to the democratic ideology but it had a sound economic foundation for a free government.

If the destruction of democratic government by the South and its preservation by the North were not the causes of the Civil War, what then were the causes? The surface answer to this question is that in 1861 the southern people desired and attempted to establish their independence and thereby to disrupt the old Union; and that the North took up arms to prevent the South from establishing this independence and to preserve the Union. Looking immediately behind this attempt of the South to establish a separate government, and of the North to prevent it, we discover a state of mind in both sections which explains their conduct. This state of mind may be summed up thus: by the spring of 1861 the southern people felt it both abhorrent and dangerous to continue to live under the same government with the people of the North. So profound was this feeling among the bulk of the southern population that they were prepared to fight a long and devastating

war to accomplish a separation. On the other hand, the North was willing to fight a war to retain their reluctant fellow citizens under the same government with themselves.

The cause of that state of mind which we may well call war psychosis lay in the sectional character of the United States. In other words, the Civil War had one basic cause: sectionalism. But to conclude that sectionalism was the cause of the Civil War, and at the same time insist—as has usually been done—that the Civil War was the climax of an irrepressible conflict is to seem to accept a pessimistic view of the future of the United States. For if the ante-bellum conflict was irrepressible and the Civil War unavoidable, we are faced with future irrepressible conflicts, future civil wars, and ultimate disintegration of the nation into its component sections. I say this because I do not see any way save some cosmic cataclysm by which sectionalism can be erased from the political, economic, racial, and cultural maps of the United States. Our national state was built, not upon the foundations of a homogeneous land and people, but upon geographical sections inhabited severally by provincial, self-conscious, self-righteous, aggressive, and ambitious populations of varying origins and diverse social and economic systems; and the passage of time and the cumulative effects of history have accentuated these sectional patterns.

Before accepting the possibility of future wars and national disintegration as inevitable because of the irrepressible conflict between permanent sections, let me hasten to say that there are two types of sectionalism: there is that egocentric, destructive sectionalism where conflict is always irrepressible; and there is that constructive sectionalism where good will prevails—two types as opposite from one another as good is opposite from evil, as the benign is from the malignant. It was the egocentric, the destructive, the evil, the malignant type of sectionalism that destroyed the Union in 1861, and that would do so again if it existed over a long period of time.

Before discussing that destructive sectionalism which caused the Civil War, some observations should be made of the constructive type, since, as I have suggested, the very nature of the American state makes one

or the other type of sectionalism inevitable. The idea of either good or bad sectionalism as an enduring factor in American national life has received scant consideration by historians as a rule, either because they, who have usually been of the North, have desired to justify the conduct of their section on occasion as being the manifestation of nationalism when in truth it was sectionalism writ large; or because, and more important, they have apparently been unable to reconcile sectionalism with nationalism.

Since sectionalism from the very nature of our country must remain a permanent and basic factor in our national life, we should look it in the face and discriminate between the good and the bad features. Above all else, we should recognize the fact that sectionalism when properly dealt with, far from being irreconcilable with nationalism, is its strongest support. It is only the malignant, destructive type that conflicts with nationalism or loyalty to the national state or empire. Great Britain once failed to make this distinction and to grasp the fact that the American colonials could be good Americans and good Britishers at the same time, and the result was the loss of the American colonies. After the lesson learned from the American Revolution, the British mind has grasped the fact that good Canadians or good Australians are all the better Britishers because of their provincial or—may I say?—sectional loyalty. Provincialism, dominionism, and, in the case of the United States, sectionalism, far from excluding nationalism, when properly recognized and not constantly frowned upon, and the interests of sections ignored and their ambitions frustrated, are powerful supports of nationalism. Such provincialism or sectionalism becomes a national asset. It is a brake upon political centralization and possible despotism. It has proven and will prove to be, if properly directed, a powerful force in preserving free institutions. It gives color, variety, and vitality to all segments of the national state. Because of this vitality in all its parts, the United States, unlike France whose lifeblood seems to flow entirely through Paris, would prove a difficult country to subjugate by a foreign enemy, and its government and society more difficult, if not impossible, to overthrow by violent revolution. It is because Great

Britain has, as the result of her lesson learned from the American Revolution, fostered a good sectionalism within her empire, that she has baffled the orderly mind of the Germans and defied conquest. By loosening the ties that bind the component parts of this straggling union of colonies and dominions, Great Britain has made these bonds all the stronger. She and her commonwealth of nations thus live in all their parts. Tragically, the American people failed to learn adequately the very lesson that they so thoroughly taught Great Britain: that local differences and attachments were natural, desirable, and formed the very rootbed of patriotism; indeed, that such differences, when given decent recognition, greatly strengthened nationalism and the national state. It was this failure to recognize or respect local differences and interests, in other words, the failure to recognize sectionalism as a fundamental fact of American life, that contributed most to the development of that kind of sectionalism which destroyed national unity and divided the nation.

There were three basic manifestations of that egocentric sectionalism which disrupted the Union in 1861. First, was the habit of the dominant section—that is, the section which had the larger share in the control of the Federal government—of considering itself the nation, its people the American people, its interests the national interests; in other words, the habit of considering itself the sole possessor of nationalism, when, indeed, it was thinking strictly in terms of one section; and conversely the habit of the dominant section of regarding the minority group as factional, its interests and institutions and way of life as un-American, unworthy of friendly consideration, and even the object of attack.

The second manifestation of this egocentric sectionalism that led to the Civil War was the perennial attempt of a section to gain or maintain its political ascendancy over the Federal government by destroying the sectional balance of power which, both New England and the South maintained, had been established by the three-fifths ratio clause in the Federal constitution.

The third and most dangerous phase of this sectionalism, perhaps the *sine qua non* of the Civil War, was the failure to observe what in

international law is termed the comity of nations, and what we may by analogy designate as the comity of sections. That is, the people in one section failed in their language and conduct to respect the dignity and self-respect of the people in the other section. These three manifestations of sectionalism were so closely related that at times they can be segregated only in theory and for the sake of logical discussion. Indeed, as I have suggested, all were manifestations of that egocentric sectionalism that caused a section to regard itself as the nation.

Let me call to your mind some familiar facts of American history that illustrate each of these phases of sectionalism. During the first twelve years of the government under the Federal Constitution, the old commercial-financial aristocracy of New England, with the aid of the same classes of people scattered throughout the urban centers of the seaboard, controlled the national government through the instrumentality of the Federalist party. An analysis of the chief measures of the Federalist regime and of the mental processes behind their enactments—as disclosed in speeches and letters and newspaper editorials—reveals the dominant section, New England, with its compact, homogeneous population, its provincial outlook, thinking, talking, and acting as if it were the United States; its way of life, its economic system, and its people the only truly American; while the remainder of the country, the people, and their interests and ways of life were alien and un-American. Most of the laws enacted during the control of the New England Federalists were considered by the South and much of the middle states as being for the sole benefit of the commercial and banking interests of the East, and as injurious, even ruinous, to the agricultural sections. In order to give constitutional sanction to these centralizing, sectional laws, the Federalist party under the brilliant leadership of Alexander Hamilton evolved the doctrine of implied powers, which seemed to the agricultural sections, now under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, to be pulling the foundations from under constitutional government. This sectional and centralizing policy of the New England-dominated Federalist party culminated in the Alien and Sedition Laws which were met by the Virginia and Kentucky Resolu-

tions. These resolutions may be regarded as a campaign document to be used in ousting the Federalists and New England from power. They were also a threat of the minority section to withdraw from the Union should Federalist New England continue in power, and continue its policy of ignoring the agricultural sections of the country or of running roughshod over their interests.

The overthrow of New England's control of the national government by the Jeffersonian party in 1800 resulted in a twenty-four year regime of the Virginia dynasty, during fifteen years of which—that is, until after the War of 1812—the government was distinctly dominated by the South and Southwest. If Hamilton had been positive that the welfare of the nation depended upon reinforcing and maintaining by special government favor the capitalistic system of the East, Jefferson was more positive that democratic and constitutional government and the welfare of the American people depended upon maintaining the supremacy in government and society of a landowning farmer-people whose center of gravity was in the South and middle states. To Jefferson, commerce, finance, and industry were only necessary evils to be maintained purely as conveniences and handmaidens of agriculture. Such doctrinaire conception of government and society boded ill for New England; and the period from 1801 until the end of the War of 1812 was filled with laws, decrees, and executive acts that seemed to threaten the economic and social existence of that section. One measure in particular seemed to be destined to end forever in favor of the South the sectional balance of power, namely, the purchase of Louisiana. During all this time New England's standing committee on secession, the Essex Junto, was maneuvering to bring about the withdrawal of New England from the Federal Union; nor is there any sufficient reason to suppose that it would not have eventually succeeded in the disruption of the Union had not the ending of the war with Great Britain brought a termination of the policies that seemed so detrimental to the social and economic interests of the East; and had not the outburst of genuine nationalism at the victorious ending of the war actually resulted in the adoption of measures distinctly favorable to New England.

The point that I wish to emphasize is that the rise to power of the South and middle states was marked by the same egocentric sectionalism as characterized the dominance of Federalist New England: the agricultural sections thought of themselves as the United States, thought of the American farmers as the only simon-pure Americans, and looked upon the interests of the agricultural population as the national interests.

It is not the ambition of this paper to attempt a summary of the ante-bellum history of the United States; but simply to use the twelve-year sectional regime of the Federalists and about the same length of rule by the Jeffersonian party to illustrate that tendency of the dominant section to consider itself the United States and its people the American people, and by the same token ignore or treat with contempt the peculiar needs of the minority sections.

The second manifestation of that egocentric sectionalism which led to the American Civil War was, as you will recall, the attempt of one section to gain a permanent ascendancy by destroying the sectional balance of power or permanently undermining the prestige of the other section. Let me pause for a moment, in discussing the overthrow of the balance of power, and review for you very briefly just how and why there had been an approximate balance of power established between the slaveholding and nonslaveholding states during the constitutional convention. The delegates to the convention, from both the northern and southern sections of the country, were unanimously in favor of a constitution that would establish a much stronger and more effective government than that which had so signally broken down under the Articles of Confederation. There was a fundamental difference, however, as to what specific powers should be granted to this new government. New England and the capitalistic segments of the middle states were above all else determined that the new government should be able to control foreign and interstate commerce and to make commercial treaties that could be enforced. The agricultural sections of the country looked with considerable disfavor upon such a grant of powers. The South was so much opposed that it quietly passed out the word that it

would never enter a Union where commerce was so thoroughly controlled by the national government unless it were assured a position of approximate political equality in that government. Otherwise, the power over commerce would be used by the North, dominated by the East, for its sole benefit and to the detriment of agriculture and the South.

Finally, the balance of power was worked out by the technique of counting three fifths of the slaves in apportioning representation in Congress and in the electoral college. This was called the three-fifths compromise between the North, which wanted to count all the slaves in apportioning direct taxes and none in apportioning representatives, and the South, which wanted to count all the slaves in making up representation and none in making up taxation. But an examination of the speeches and correspondence of the delegates indicates that it was also, and more important, a means of giving the South approximate equality in the Federal government in return for granting New England's profound desire to have the Federal government control interstate and international commerce.

That the sectional balance of power should be obtained by the process of counting three fifths of the slaves in determining representation was a natural but unfortunate arrangement. It was natural inasmuch as the Southerner regarded his slave as a human being and as part of the population; it was unfortunate in that it quickly identified the political influence of the South with the institution of slavery, and in doing so it went far toward engendering or increasing hostility in New England and finally in the whole North toward both slavery and the South.

As long as New England was able to dominate the Federal government there was no important opposition to the theoretical balance of power obtained by the three-fifths ratio; but when New England lost her status with the collapse of the Federalist party her leaders immediately seized upon the three-fifths ratio as the explanation. During the period that ended with the Hartford convention and the treaty of peace the New England leaders were unceasing in their attack upon "slave representation," as they called it. At the Hartford convention it formed

the leading grievance. The convention demanded an unconditional repeal.

During this same time Jefferson purchased the Louisiana territory, not for the purpose of destroying the sectional balance of power, but complacent in the belief that it would do so. We thus behold, during the earlier Jeffersonian period, the spectacle of the agricultural South and the commercial East tampering with the sectional balance of power. Of course, permanent balance of power was impossible in a rapidly expanding country, and both sections must have realized that eventually the forces of nature would tip the balance in favor of one section or the other or in favor of a section not yet born. Such eventualities were regarded as remote and were not permitted to disturb the peace of mind. It was the overthrow of the sectional balance by artificial, political methods which caused uneasiness and wrath, for it indicated inter-sectional ill will or gross selfishness.

The Missouri controversy, 1819-1820, marked the decline of the agitation by the Northeast to repeal the three-fifths ratio clause as a means of weakening the political power of the South and inaugurated the second and final phase of the struggle of the North to destroy by artificial methods the sectional balance of power. This second phase was to prevent the formation and admission into the Union of any more slave states, which meant, from the political and social point of view, the exclusion of southern states. While the demand for exclusion was based partly upon what we may call moral reasons, Rufus King and the other northern leaders in this debate were quite frank in asserting that the Missouri debate was a struggle between the slave and free states for political power.

The two phases of that sectionalism which led to the Civil War, while causing a slow accumulation of sectional grievances, were not marked during the thirty years prior to the Missouri debates by excessive ill will or serious disregard for the comity of sections. Indeed, up until the time of the Missouri debates, despite the rivalry of sections which almost disrupted the Union, there was maintained a certain urbanity and self-restraint on the part of the leaders of the rival sections;

for as long as the founding fathers lived and exercised influence over public affairs, there seems to have been a common realization—indeed, a common recollection—that the nation had been founded upon the principle of mutual tolerance of sectional differences and mutual concessions; that the nation had been constructed upon the respect of each section for the institutions, opinions, and ways of life of the other sections. But the years laid the founding fathers low and their places were taken by a new and impatient generation who had no such understanding of the essence of national unity. The result was that urbanity, self-restraint, and courtesy—the ordinary amenities of civilized intercourse—were cast aside; and in their gracious place were substituted the crude, discourteous, and insulting language and conduct in intersectional relations now so familiar in the relations between the totalitarian nations and the so-called democracies. It was the Missouri debates in which intersectional comity was first violated; and it was the political leaders of the East, particularly the New Englanders and those of New England origin, who did it when they denounced in unmeasured terms slavery, the slaveholder, and southern society in general. It is noteworthy that the Southern leaders, with the exception of one or two, including John Randolph, ignored this first violent, denunciatory, insulting language of the Northerners during and immediately after the Missouri controversy; ignored them at least in that no reply in kind was made with the possible exception of two or three, including John Randolph, who demanded that the South withdraw from the Union before it was too late. The private correspondence of the Southerners, however, reveals them as resentful and apprehensive of future bad relations with the North.

Ten years after the Missouri Compromise debates the moral and intellectual leaders of the North, and notably those of New England origin, took up the language of abuse and vilification which the political leaders of that section had first employed in the Missouri debates. Quickly the political leaders resumed the tone of the Missouri controversy: and thus was launched the so-called antislavery crusade, but what in fact was a crusade against the southern people. For over three

decades this attack upon slavery and the entire structure of southern society down to the custom of eating corn bread and turnip greens grew in volume and in violence. (A discussion of the motives behind this crusade would lead us far afield and into bitterly controversial questions. It does seem clear, however, that political and economic considerations were thoroughly mingled with the moral and religious objection to slavery.) One has to seek in the unrestrained and furious invective of the present totalitarians to find a near parallel to the language that the abolitionists and their political fellow travelers used in denouncing the South and its way of life. Indeed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, neither Dr. Goebbels nor Virginio Gayda nor Stalin's propaganda agents have as yet been able to plumb the depths of vulgarity and obscenity reached and maintained by George Bourne, Stephen Foster, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and other abolitionists of note. Let me use a few of these—most of them are too indecent to quote. Phillips characterized the South as "one great brothel, where half a million women are flogged to prostitution." Bourne went Phillips one better and estimated that there were a million slave women in the South who constituted "one vast harem where men-stealers may prowl, corrupt and destroy." However, Bourne was not satisfied with implicating the entire white male population of the South in the charge of miscegenation; he gave what he claimed were revolting examples of the same practice among the young white women of the South and insinuated that such practices were universal. Foster and Bourne both attacked the morality of the southern ministry. Bourne said that the pulpits of the South were often filled with "man stealing, girl selling, pimping and slave manufacturing preachers," and that the churches were "synagogues of Satan." It would be far better, he insisted, "to transfer the inmate from the state prison, and the pander from the brothel to the pulpit" than permit a southern minister "to teach us righteousness and purity" in a northern church. Foster in a book significantly entitled the *Brotherhood of Thieves* charged that the Methodist church was "more corrupt than any house of ill fame in New York," arguing that the fifty thousand adult female slaves who were

members of that church "were inevitably doomed to lives of prostitution" under the penalty of being scourged to death. Foster, Bourne, Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, indeed, most of the abolitionists put forward such attacks upon southern morality. No one was spared in this charge. All crimes were laid at the door of these people: they were kidnapers, manstealers, pimps, robbers, assassins, freebooters, much more "despicable than the common horse thief." Neither time nor good taste permits any real analysis of this torrent of coarse abuse; but let it be said again that nothing equal to it has been encountered in the language of insult used between the nations today—even those at war with one another.

This crusade against the South has often been brushed aside as the work of a few unbalanced fanatics. Such is not the case at all. The genuine abolitionists were few in number in the beginning; but just as radicalism today has touched so many of the intellectuals of the East, so did abolitionism touch the intellectuals of the East and of the North generally. So did it touch the moral and political leaders. The effects upon the minds of those millions who did not consider themselves abolitionists were profound. In time the average Northerner accepted in whole or in part the abolitionist picture of southern people: they became monsters and their children were not children but young monsters. Such a state of mind is fertile soil for war. The effect upon the minds of the southern people was far more profound, since they were recipients of this niagara of insults and threats. To them the northern people were a combination of mad fanatics and cold-blooded political adventurers. As years passed slow and consuming fury took hold of the southern people; and this fury was combined with a deadly fear which John Brown's raid confirmed: a fear that most of the northern people not only hated the southern people but would willingly see them exterminated. This fear was further confirmed when such a kindly philosopher as Ralph Waldo Emerson approved of the incendiary, John Brown, by likening him to Jesus.

The political, intellectual, and moral leaders of the South did not remain silent under the abuse of the crusaders and the fellow travelers

and well-wishers, but replied in a manner that added fuel to the roaring flames which were fast consuming the last vestiges of national unity. The language of insult which the so-called fire-eaters employed, however, was not usually coarse or obscene in comparison with the abolitionists; it was urbane and restrained to a degree—but insulting. Thus in language of abuse and insult was jettisoned the comity of sections: And let me repeat that peace between sections as between nations is placed in jeopardy when one nation or one section fails to respect the self-respect of the people of another section or nation.

Frontiersmen and Planters in the Formation of Kentucky

BY JOHN D. BARNHART

The settlement of Kentucky was part of a rapid and extensive frontier movement which took place during and after the American Revolution. Thousands of settlers moved into the western part of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and into the regions that became Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The migration was largely an expansion of the Appalachian upland from Pennsylvania through the Carolinas. This part of the "Old West" had been settled by two streams of people. One had moved along the Blue Ridge from Pennsylvania and Maryland, seeking the unoccupied lands of the southern piedmont and the valley of the Appalachians. These pioneers were largely Scotch-Irish and German in origin. As they moved southward they met and mixed with migrants who were being crowded to the frontier from the lowland by rising land values and the expansion of the plantation regime. From these diverse groups came the settlers of Kentucky. They moved along the Wilderness Trail through Cumberland Gap, or, farther to the northward, crossed the mountains and reached Kentucky on the waters of the Ohio.

Somewhat later than the earliest pioneers there came to Kentucky representatives of planter families who established plantation life as nearly like that of eastern Virginia as conditions would permit. They were not numerous, but their family connections, their training and ability, and their wealth often enabled them to become leaders and exert an influence disproportionate to their numbers.

A state of their own became the goal of the early inhabitants of Kentucky. Their interests frequently differed from those of eastern Virginia, for the government of Virginia had not been very responsive to their wishes. Kentucky needed assistance against the Indians but Virginia seemed unwilling and unable to grant effective aid, ordering the Kentuckians to remain on the defensive when the only effective defense was a vigorous and swift offense. Nonresident officials and agencies could not know or care for the interests of the distant frontier. Appeals to the Superior Court at Richmond were expensive and the necessary journeys were dangerous. It was asserted that Kentucky paid more than its just share of taxes. "Equal liberty and privileges with their brethren in the eastern part" of the state were demanded. The portion of the surveyor's fees in Kentucky that had been appropriated to William and Mary was asked for Transylvania. Complaints were made that "large sums of money [were] drained from the District in consequence of its connection" with Virginia. A protest was also made against the five shillings tax upon each hundred acres of land in excess of fourteen hundred.¹

Colonel Benjamin Logan called together the leading men of Jefferson County on November 7, 1784. After discussing their situation, they called a convention to meet on December 27 to consider the matter. This movement for statehood was delayed for over seven years because it became involved with other questions. The Spanish Conspiracy and the difficulties over the navigation of the Mississippi were obstructions. The change in the Federal government from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution interfered when success seemed assured. When Virginia then became less liberal in respect to the terms of separation, some of the leaders wished to declare independence, form a state gov-

¹ The grievances of the people of Kentucky were expressed in various resolutions and petitions. See Thomas P. Abernethy (ed.), "Journal of the First Kentucky Convention, Dec. 27, 1784-Jan. 5, 1785," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), I (1935), 69-78; Temple Bodley (ed.), "Littell's Political Transactions. . .," in *Filson Club Publications* (Louisville, 1884-), No. 31 (1926), 61-68; James R. Robertson, *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792*, *ibid.*, No. 27 (1914), Petitions No. 4, 15, 17, 24, 25, 50.

ernment, and ask for admission to the Federal Union, but the majority preferred a slower constitutional procedure. During these years the Kentuckians elected delegates to a series of ten conventions, and they in turn adopted resolutions favoring independence of Virginia and petitions to Congress requesting admission to the Union. Their patience and peaceful perseverance against great obstacles should be recognized as proof of their faith and devotion to constitutional government and loyalty to the nation.²

Other differences may have been referred to as "discordant opinions" and "jealousies which have infected society." The frontiersmen³ had come largely from the back country of older eastern states where they had been subjected to discriminations at the hands of the leaders who lived in the eastern counties and who were representatives of the planters and wealthier classes. These discriminations included unequal representation, property qualifications for officeholding and voting, an established church, inequalities in taxation, and the failure of the government to provide adequate defense for the frontier. They were farmers who worked in the fields and who owned but few slaves. They were poorer, more individualistic and democratic, and opposed to the aristocracy of the tidewater. Some were Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, more were not members of any church, but nearly all were

² Bodley, "Littell's Political Transactions," in *loc. cit.*, 11-39; Robert S. Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1917), 209-27. The records of these conventions are found in Abernethy, "Journal of the First Kentucky Convention," in *loc. cit.*, 69-78, and in the manuscript journals of the conventions held in July and November, 1788, July, 1789, July, 1790, and April, 1792 (Kentucky State Library, Frankfort). Extracts from the journals of conventions held in May, 1785, August, 1785, and September, 1787, are found in Bodley, "Littell's Political Transactions," in *loc. cit.*, 62-72, 84-88.

³ The term "frontiersmen" in this paper refers to individuals who had considerable experience on the frontier as early settlers, Indian traders, Indian fighters, or early ministers, particularly those of the more democratic sects. Much the larger number of frontiersmen were farmers. Some of the more successful and acquisitive frontiersmen accepted the ideals of other groups and abandoned the more democratic creed and conduct of the pioneers. When they did this they ceased to be frontiersmen. The term does not include the planters or their allies in politics, business, or at the bar, and it does not include the large land speculators, particularly the speculators who aspired to become planters. It is not denied that the frontier influenced the planters and speculators, but that they as a general rule adhered to a philosophy that was in conflict with the ideals of the frontiersmen.

opposed to the Established church. A considerable number objected to competition with slave labor and to the social problems attendant upon slavery.⁴

In contrast to the frontiersmen there was a group of planters, lawyers, governmental officials, and land speculators, who had received offices and large land grants from Virginia. It is quite possible that they were not in a hurry to secure statehood. At any rate, they were less opposed to Virginia control and to a Virginia social and political order in Kentucky, for they accepted to some degree the ideals of the lowland South. Some of them, however, had been frontiersmen whose acquisitions of land had enabled them to rise in the social scale. Many of the large landholders had wished to secure large estates in order to become gentlemen planters. Only a few came from the eastern counties or were to the manor born. Some of them emulated tidewater society, as the tidewater emulated Old England. A few of these western aristocrats had fought against certain conservative features of the political order in Virginia before moving to Kentucky. The new social order which they founded was therefore less aristocratic than its counterpart in the Old Dominion.⁵

Between the planters, lawyers, officials, and speculators on one hand, and the frontiersmen on the other, there was renewed the old conflict that had characterized the struggle between back country and tidewater in the older seaboard states. When the older states were formed, the planters were already in control, which was not true in Kentucky. The

⁴ Fletcher M. Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860, A Study in the Evolution of Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1930); Allan Nevins, *The American States during and after the Revolution, 1775-1789* (New York, 1924); Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910); William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, I (Washington, 1901), 237-464; Henry W. Wagstaff, "State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861," in Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore, 1883-), XXIV (1906); John S. Bassett, "Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina," *ibid.*, XVI (1898); Stephen B. Weeks, "Southern Quakers and Slavery. . .," *ibid.*, extra Vol. XV (1896).

⁵ The lives of the various members of the constitutional convention illustrate the points of this and the following paragraph. Some details are given, *post*, 25-32, and references are cited in notes 18-53.

western aristocracy, as has just been noticed, was less aristocratic and under the necessity of struggling for what it wished. In contrast, the frontiersmen were more numerous and were not checked by the prestige of an intrenched upper class. Between the two were many of a more moderate cast, probably made up of persons of moderate wealth and those who utilized the opportunities of the frontier to secure land and improve their social standing. They tended to keep the contest from becoming too bitter.

Among the grievances expressed in the resolutions adopted by the various conventions are some that indicate the existence of this contest between the frontiersmen and the planters. The convention of 1784 resolved against large grants as "Subversive of the fundamental principles of a free republican government," and as opening the door to "speculation by which innumerable evils may ensue to the less opulent." The convention also complained of the lack of officers to care for the poor and for orphans, which may have been an attack upon the Established church of Virginia.⁶ In August of 1785 it was stated that the expense of suits in the Court of Appeals at Richmond put the poor in the power of the rich.⁷

Finally, in July of 1790 the ninth convention accepted the revised terms of Virginia which were then sanctioned by Congress. It remained for a convention to be elected to frame a constitution. The election took place in December of 1791 and the convention met on April 2, following. The first of June, 1792, was named as the day when Kentucky was to become a state. At last, Kentucky was near the end of the long and tortuous road to the accomplishment of her two ambitions, independence from Virginia and membership in the Federal Union.

When the time approached for the election of delegates to the convention, a radical agitation burst forth that indicated a deep-seated division of social classes. Issues were discussed in the *Kentucky Gazette*. A "Disinterested Citizen" advocated a system of checks and bal-

⁶ Abernethy, "Journal of the First Kentucky Convention," in *loc. cit.*, 73, 75-76.

⁷ Bodley, "Littell's Political Transactions," in *loc. cit.*, 67.

ances and a bill of rights, urging that the example of Virginia be avoided because the legislature possessed too much power.⁸

Committees were also organized to ascertain or formulate public opinion. Militia companies elected delegates to county committees which were to recommend the persons to be elected to the constitutional convention. It was even suggested that the committee system be made a permanent part of the government with the power to ratify or reject the constitution and to veto future legislation. It was also proposed that a bill of rights and a constitution, expressing the wishes of the people, be prepared and laid before the convention.⁹

The committee of Bourbon County issued an "Address to the Freemen . . . of Kentucky," advocating certain proposals for the new constitution. These included a unicameral legislature, popular election of civil and military officers, elections by ballot, and the taxation of all land and other property. The last may have indicated hostility to slavery and speculation in land. Popular prejudice against aristocracy was expressed in the exhortation that the people "be wise enough now, not in any measure to be wheedled out of our just rights, by flattery, grog, or the wag of a ruffled hand."¹⁰

This program seems to have represented an effort of radicals to direct the statehood movement. Attacked by more conservative writers,¹¹ its supporters rushed to its defense. It was insisted that the people were not fools, and that judges, lawyers, generals, and "other designing men" should not be elected to the convention.¹² "I find most solid wisdom among those who live above poverty and yet below affluence,"

⁸ *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, March 5, 1791. Other communications contributed by "Disinterested Citizen" are in the issues of December 11, 1790; March 12, July 2, October 22, 29, December 31, 1791; February 11, 25, 1792.

⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1791; February 11, 1792.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 15, 22, 1791.

¹¹ Among the conservative communications were those contributed by "A. B. C.," *ibid.*, September 24, October 1, 8, December 3, 10, 1791; January 28, February 4, 1792; "A Citizen," December 17, 1791; "Felte Firebrand," November 12, 1791; "Little Brutus," December 17, 24, 1791.

¹² "Will Wisp," *ibid.*, October 15, 1791. See also, "Salamander," *ibid.*, December 24, 1791.

wrote one.¹³ Pretending ignorance, another suggested, "I never was a friend to larned men for I see it is those sort of folks who always no how to butter thare own bred and care not for others. I always thought it was not rite they should go to convention or to the legislater."¹⁴ There was also a strong moral tone in these radical communications. This was indicated by the demands that immoral men be excluded from places of power and by the complaints that the laws had been laxly enforced and pernicious vices encouraged.¹⁵ Several of the radical writers were opposed to the continuance of slavery.¹⁶

The conservatives appeared to be on the defensive in this newspaper campaign. They urged the election of men of integrity and wisdom and emphasized the danger of anarchy and insurrection. The activity and procedure of the committees were criticized as an attempt of the few secretly and unauthorized by law to control the many. A system of checks and balances and a bill of rights were accepted and the institution of slavery was defended by some of the conservative writers.¹⁷

It is much easier to classify these communications than it is to classify the delegates who were elected while this agitation was in progress.¹⁸ The campaign conducted by the radicals was an attack upon men of wealth and of social and political standing, and upon slaveowners. It must have created a conservative opposition composed of planters, lawyers, governmental officials, land speculators, and perhaps a few of

¹³ "The Medlar," *ibid.*, November 19, 1791. The writer claimed to be a woman.

¹⁴ "Philip Philips," *ibid.*, November 26, December 3, 1791.

¹⁵ "The Medlar," *ibid.*, November 19, 1791; "H. S. B. M.," *ibid.*, November 19, 1791; "Address to the freemen of the district of Kentucky," *ibid.*, October 15, 1791.

¹⁶ "Brutus," *ibid.*, March 10, 1792; "Philip Philips," *ibid.*, December 3, 1791; "Philanthropos" [David Rice], *Slavery, Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy* (Lexington, Ky., 1792). A mutilated copy of this pamphlet is in the Library of Congress.

¹⁷ "Little Brutus," in *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, December 17, 24, 1791; "Disinterested Citizen," *ibid.*, February 25, 1792.

¹⁸ The Journal of the Constitutional Convention contains only one recorded vote which is inadequate as a basis for classification. This manuscript journal is in the Kentucky State Library, Frankfort. A printed copy without title page is in the Library of Congress. The lives of the members of the convention have been studied, but some of the delegates left such meager records that it is impossible to determine their affiliations at the time of the convention.

the wealthier farmers. Very often a delegate belonged to several of these categories.

The convention included in its membership a group of planters, among whom were Alexander S. Bullitt,¹⁹ John Edwards,²⁰ Richard Taylor,²¹ Matthew Walton,²² and Robert Johnson. Bullitt, the master of "Oxmoor" near Louisville, and Edwards were born near the western border of the tidewater in northern Virginia, while the others were from the Virginia piedmont. As a surveyor and military leader, Johnson participated in the life of the frontier; as a speculator, he secured grants for an acreage in excess of one hundred thousand; but to the youthful minds of his children he unfolded the free spirit of democracy and the principles of civil and religious liberty as they gathered about the family table or at the fireside when the toils of the day were ended.²⁸

Land speculation claimed the attention of other members of the convention, in addition to Johnson. One had received grants for over eighty-eight thousand acres, another over forty-five thousand, a third over twenty-seven thousand, and a fourth over twenty-five thousand. It may be that the radicals in their agitation had excited the fears of the larger speculators by their prejudice against the wealthy and their demand for taxation of all property. Speculators who had come from Pennsylvania may have favored statehood to attain freedom from Virginia laws and to increase their opportunity of securing land. Virginians, however, may have preferred to remain under the government that had granted them their lands.

While these grants were large, there were many individuals, not members of the convention, who had received larger grants. Only one

¹⁹ Robert S. Cotterill, "Alexander Scott Bullitt," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), III, 255-56.

²⁰ E. Merton Coulter, "John Edwards," *ibid.*, VI, 29-30.

²¹ J. Reese Fry and Robert T. Conrad, *A Life of General Zachary Taylor* (Philadelphia, 1847), 13-17; Wendell H. Stephenson, "Zachary Taylor," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 349.

²² *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 1664; Thomas Speed, *The Political Club* (Louisville, 1894), 75-76.

²⁸ Obituary of Cave Johnson in the Durrett Collection, University of Chicago Library; Leland W. Meyer, *Life and Times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson* (New York, 1932), 13-48, see particularly, 48.

delegate belonged to the group of twenty-nine, each of whom had received grants for more than one hundred thousand acres before 1792. Only two were among the thirty-six individuals, each of whom had received grants for fifty thousand acres or more but less than one hundred thousand. It is probable that 10 delegates were among the 212 individuals each of whom had received grants for ten thousand acres or more but less than fifty thousand. In other words, 13 of the 45 members of the convention may be classified among the 277 larger speculators in Kentucky land.²⁴

Three prominent lawyers, all from eastern Virginia, were among the conservatives in the convention. They were George Nicholas, Benjamin Sebastian,²⁵ and Harry Innes.²⁶ Nicholas was the most prominent member of the convention. Born in Williamsburg, the colonial capital, son of a colonial treasurer, student at William and Mary, he moved to western Virginia after fighting in the armies of the Revolution. He became a friend and supporter of Jefferson and Madison and a participant in the struggle for religious liberty. In the Virginia ratification convention he was an ardent advocate of the new Federal Constitution. In 1790 he moved to Kentucky, where he became a leading member of its constitutional convention, and took an important part in preparing the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798.²⁷

The chief opponents of the conservatives were the radicals whose campaign in the newspapers and whose formation of county committees indicated that they looked back to the philosophy and methods of agitation employed by the Patriots during the American Revolution.²⁸

²⁴ Willard R. Jillson (comp.), *The Kentucky Land Grants* (Louisville, 1925). This is a list of grantees and the amounts of land granted them in Kentucky. It is arranged in sections according to the grantor or the time or place of the grants. The first section gives the grants made by Virginia prior to statehood.

²⁵ Isaac J. Cox, "Benjamin Sebastian," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 543-44; John M. Brown, *Political Beginnings of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1889), 109-10.

²⁶ Edward Wiest, "Harry Innes," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 485-86; Speed, *Political Club*, 42-45.

²⁷ George Nicholas, Papers, Letters, Speeches, Etc., in the Durrett Collection. In these papers is a "Preliminary Biographical Sketch," but it does not possess great merit. See also, Thomas P. Abernethy, "George Nicholas," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 482-83.

²⁸ "H. S. B. M.," in *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, December 24, 1791.

They were not men of large property, they held but few slaves, they were not learned in the law, and they had not been appointed to public office. They were frontiersmen or members of the small farmer class. Many of them were opposed to the aristocracy and slave labor of the lowland. Many were natives of western Virginia and a few of Pennsylvania. The moral tone of some of the communications and the presence of a number of ministers in the convention may indicate that the clergy furnished much of the leadership of this group.

Nine of the forty-five delegates, or one fifth of the convention, either were or had been Protestant clergymen. Two, however, had ceased to exercise the office and had given evidence of some departure from its ideals.²⁹ Two others were Presbyterian ministers, one of whom was David Rice, who was regarded as among the more able members of the convention. He was the son of a poor but respected Virginia farmer. After twenty years of service as a clergyman, during which he engaged in the struggle for religious freedom, he moved to Kentucky, where he came to be recognized as the father of the Presbyterian church in his adopted state. Like his family before him he was opposed to slavery and, on the eve of the convention, he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Slavery, Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy*.³⁰

In this pamphlet, Rice attacked slavery from the political, economic, and religious points of view. Of more importance was his attitude toward the plantation regime. "A man, who has no slaves," he asserted, "cannot live easy and contented in the midst of those, who possess them in numbers. He is treated with neglect, and often with contempt, . . . his children are looked upon and treated as underlings. These things are not easy to bear . . . He will not long abide in it. When he removes, his place is filled up with slaves. Thus the country

²⁹ These were Benjamin Sebastian (see *ante*, n. 24) and Caleb Wallace. For Wallace, see William H. Whitsitt, *The Life and Times of Judge Caleb Wallace*, in *Filson Club Publications*, IV (1886); Henry A. White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders* (New York, 1911), 110, 165-66, *et passim*.

³⁰ Walter L. Lingle, "David Rice," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 537-38; Asa E. Martin, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, in *Filson Club Publications*, XXIX (1918), 12-13; White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders*, 58-59, 110, 206-209. See also, *ante*, n. 15.

will spew out its white inhabitants and be peopled with Slave-holders, their Slaves, and . . . [overseers].”⁸¹ He suggested that “the first thing to be done is, to resolve unconditionally to put an end to slavery in this state. This . . . properly belongs to the convention.” His remedy was gradual emancipation.⁸²

Three of the ministerial delegates were Baptists.⁸³ Their attitude may have been determined by the struggle within the Elkhorn Baptist Association which had approved a memorial to the convention concerning religious freedom and perpetual slavery, but which at a later meeting reversed its action.⁸⁴

It was entirely fitting that the leadership of the democratic masses of this frontier should have included in addition to the Presbyterian and Baptist preachers a German Reformed minister⁸⁵ and a Methodist local preacher.⁸⁶ Altogether this group was characteristic of the upland South. All of the active ministers except Rice, who had resigned, voted against slavery in the convention.⁸⁷

Eight delegates in addition to the ministers also voted against slavery, which indicated radical opposition to the conservative class. Each had received comparatively small grants of land from Virginia, and little remains to indicate that they held office. One was said to be of Scotch

⁸¹ [Rice], *Slavery, Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy*, 21-22.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁸³ These were James Garrard, George S. Smith, and John Bailey. The last was one of George Rogers Clark's soldiers before becoming a preacher. Little is known about Smith except that he had an older brother who was a radical opponent of slavery. Garrard came from a Virginia family of importance in Stafford County. He had participated in the contest for religious freedom. Robert S. Cotterill, "James Garrard," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 159-60; Robert B. Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, 1894), 407, 474; Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, Wis., 1912), 194, n. 64.

⁸⁴ William W. Sweet (ed.), *Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists, 1783-1830* (New York, 1931), 444, 447.

⁸⁵ This was Benedict Swope. William E. Connelley and E. Merton Coulter, *History of Kentucky*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1922), V, 162.

⁸⁶ This was Charles Kavenaugh, whose name has been frequently misspelled.

⁸⁷ Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 22.

descent,³⁸ one came from the north of Ireland,³⁹ two had German names,⁴⁰ two others were from the Valley of Virginia,⁴¹ and one had lived on the Pennsylvania frontier.⁴² Of the one remaining, it was merely recorded that he was a Virginian, a slaveowner, but a farmer who voted against slavery.⁴³ The Pennsylvanian, James Smith, had aided in framing Pennsylvania's radical constitution of 1776. Obviously these men were not the kind of which aristocracies were formed.

There were also nine other members of the convention about whom very little has been recorded. Some came to Kentucky very early and so were among the frontier element. None of them had received large land grants. Probably they did not hold office or more would have been recorded about them. Two had lived in the fort at Boonesboro,⁴⁴ one was said to be of Scotch-Irish stock,⁴⁵ one came from Maryland,⁴⁶ and another probably from Pennsylvania.⁴⁷ Although not one of these voted

³⁸ This was Miles W. Conway. Connelley and Coulter, *History of Kentucky*, V, 612.

³⁹ This was Andrew Hynes. *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Chicago, 1896), 32-33.

⁴⁰ They were Jacob Froman and Robert Fryer. Connelley and Coulter, *History of Kentucky*, IV, 204. No information was found about Fryer.

⁴¹ They were John McKinney and John Wilson. Draper Collection, Kentucky MSS. (State Historical Library, Madison, Wisconsin), XIII, 137; Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison, Wis., 1905), 272, n. 87.

⁴² James Smith was born on the Pennsylvania frontier, was captured by the Indians, among whom he lived for several years before he escaped and became active in the defense of the frontier. He aided in forming Pennsylvania's radical constitution of 1776, before he moved to Kentucky, which he had visited on an early exploring trip. He participated in the statehood movement and later served in the Kentucky assembly. His last days were spent as a missionary to the Indians and in writing about his travels and captivity and on religion. Samuel M. Wilson, "James Smith," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 284-85; Lewis Collins and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2 vols. (Covington, Ky., 1882), II, 77.

⁴³ William H. Perrin, J. H. Battle, and G. C. Kniffen, *Kentucky, A History of the State* (Louisville, 1887), 1014. The individual was Samuel Taylor.

⁴⁴ They were Thomas Kennedy and Higgason Grubbs. *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1878), 359; Connelley and Coulter, *History of Kentucky*, IV, 50; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 61, 71, 510-11, 514.

⁴⁵ This was Joseph Kennedy. William H. Perrin, *History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison, and Nicholas Counties, Kentucky* (Chicago, 1882), 477.

⁴⁶ This was Thomas Kennedy. *Ante*, n. 43.

⁴⁷ This was William Steele. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 326.

against slavery, it seems that they were more likely frontiersmen and radicals than conservatives.⁴⁸

It seems probable that there were delegates of moderate views, since neither the radicals nor the conservatives were numerous enough to control the convention.⁴⁹ It is possible to make only a guess at the personnel of such a moderate group. There were men from the Valley of Virginia who had struggled against the planter domination of that state but who seem in Kentucky to have adopted some of the ideals of that class. It is probable that the liberalism of their younger days was not entirely surrendered when they became successful and respected citizens of the District of Kentucky. Among these men may have been Samuel McDowell, Caleb Wallace, Isaac Shelby, Robert Breckinridge, and Benjamin Logan.

McDowell, Wallace, Breckinridge, and Logan were of Scotch-Irish stock, while Shelby was of Welsh extraction. Their families had in each instance settled first in Pennsylvania before moving into the South. The Shelbys lived for many years in western Maryland before moving to the Holston Valley.⁵⁰ The McDowells,⁵¹ Breckinridges,⁵² and Logans⁵³ were residents of the Valley of Virginia. All had participated in the Revolution, and McDowell and Wallace had engaged in the political struggles to make Virginia more democratic. McDowell rejected the idea of primogeniture and divided his father's estate equally with his brother and sister. Wallace had participated in the struggle for religious freedom, had secured a law confirming and authorizing marriages in the remote parts of Virginia not performed by Anglican clergymen,

⁴⁸ The other members of this group were Joseph Hobbs, William King, Robert Rankin, Thomas Waring, and John Watkins.

⁴⁹ See the communications of "X. Y. Z.," in the *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, January 14, February 18, 1792, especially the former.

⁵⁰ Autobiography of Isaac Shelby, in the Durrett Collection; Samuel M. Wilson, "Isaac Shelby," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 60-62.

⁵¹ Statement of Harvey M. McDowell, in the Durrett Collection; Speed, *Political Club*, 56-61; *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky*, 36, 38.

⁵² Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia* (Richmond, 1886), 140-42; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 98.

⁵³ Robert S. Cotterill, "Benjamin Logan," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 356-57; *id.*, *Pioneer Kentucky*, 217-18.

and had aided in founding Presbyterian educational institutions.⁵⁴ The land grants to these men before 1792 were for less than ten thousand acres each. All but Breckinridge were members of the convention of 1784 where they voted against the resolution protesting the Virginia land tax, which is at least an indication that they were not then considering matters as speculators. Shelby and Logan were foremost among the frontiersmen of their day.

When the delegates assembled on April 2, 1792, they proceeded at once to organize the convention by electing McDowell president, a position he had held in several of the previous conventions. For five days the convention met in committee of the whole and on the sixth day Nicholas resigned. At the following session which was on Monday there was not a quorum, and on the succeeding day Nicholas again appeared, having been re-elected to the convention. Rice resigned on the day after Nicholas' return. Tradition has it that Nicholas resigned on the issue of the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in regard to land titles, and that Rice resigned because he was defeated on the slavery issue. One may see in these actions, however, the continued contest between the radicals and the conservatives. Rice was not re-elected to the convention and Nicholas was left in possession of the field.⁵⁵

On April 13 the committee of the whole reported a series of resolutions and appointed a committee to draft a constitution. Nicholas was the first named to this committee which reported a constitution four days later. On the eighteenth it was amended to exclude ministers from membership in the legislature, generally explained because of the clergymen's activity against slavery. The radicals returned to the attack on slavery but they were unsuccessful. On the next day the convention finished its labors and adjourned "without day."

The constitution it adopted is said to have been the work of Nicholas.⁵⁶ Some light is thrown upon this subject by the Nicholas Papers in

⁵⁴ *Ante*, n. 29.

⁵⁵ Journal of the Constitutional Convention, *passim*.

⁵⁶ Humphrey Marshall, *The History of Kentucky*, 2 vols. (Frankfort, Ky., 1824), I, 414; Brown, *Political Beginnings*, 228; Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*,

the Durrett Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago. In them are some ten or more speeches, prepared, at least, for delivery, and presumably delivered in the Kentucky convention. Historians seem to have neglected them, doubtless because they were left without descriptive statements, some of them existing in two versions, and because most of them are in the hurried and all but illegible handwriting of Nicholas. In addition to the speeches there is a series of resolutions in his handwriting which contain the provisions of the constitution in a brief and preliminary form. To the casual investigator this might seem to prove his claim to authorship. But a very similar set of resolutions, which seems to have been the result of ten days of the convention's work, appears in the Journal on the tenth day. After these resolutions were adopted, it was only a short time until the convention finished its work. It seems therefore unlikely that Nicholas introduced these resolutions at the beginning of the convention but that they were a copy which he made of the report of the committee of the whole upon the tenth day. The views, however, which he expressed in his speeches upon "Government," the "Senate," the "House of Representatives," the "Governor," "Appointments to Office," the "Courts," "Right of Suffrage," "Slaves," and a "Bill of Rights," bear such resemblance to the final constitution as to indicate that he was the leading and guiding spirit of the convention.

If this were all of the evidence, it would seem that the radicals who had undertaken such a vigorous campaign before the convention and who seem to have elected a considerable portion of the delegates, had been defeated in the convention.⁵⁷ But there is additional evidence. After a careful comparison of the constitution, which the convention adopted, with earlier constitutions, it is possible to identify the sources from which it was drawn. It was not modeled upon the constitution of Vir-

32 vols. (Cleveland, 1904-1907), III, 44, editor's footnote; Mann Butler, *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1836), 207-11; Francis N. Thorpe, *A Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850*, 2 vols. (New York, 1898), I, 133-34.

⁵⁷ This is the conclusion of E. Merton Coulter, "Early Frontier Democracy in the First Kentucky Constitution," in *Political Science Quarterly* (Boston, 1886-), XXXIX (1924), 675-76.

ginia, or directly upon that of the United States as has been suggested.⁵⁸ On the contrary almost three fourths of its sections were taken from the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790, many having been copied with only the change of a few words necessary to adapt them to the local situation. This was especially true of the articles containing the bill of rights and the provisions for executive and legislative departments. Seventy-five of the 107 sections of the document were so similar as to justify the statement that Pennsylvania's constitution was used as a model.⁵⁹

This choice of model is significant. It involved a departure from the government of the mother state. Pennsylvania had adopted a very radical constitution in 1776, but after the ratification of the Federal Constitution it remodeled its own, in the light of more recent experience. When the Kentucky convention assembled, the constitution of Pennsylvania of 1790 provided the most modern and up-to-date description of state government. It was less radical, but it preserved the democratic

⁵⁸ Thorpe, in his *Constitutional History of the American People*, I, 133, said it closely resembled the constitution of Virginia. The following assert its likeness to the constitution of the United States: Coulter, "Early Frontier Democracy," in *loc. cit.*, 676; Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, I, 414; Bennett H. Young, *History and Texts of the Three Constitutions of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1890), 9.

⁵⁹ The following table will give the necessary details:

Article	Subject Matter	No. of Sections	No. of Sections Like Pa. 1790	No. of Sections Original	No. of Sections Like Other Constitutions
Preamble		1			S. C. 1790
I	legislature	29	18	4	5 Md.
II	executive	17	14	2	1 N. C.
III	elections	3	3		
IV	impeachment	3	3		
V	judiciary	7	3	2	2 U. S.
VI	local matters	7	4	3	
VII	oath of office	1	1		
VIII	miscellaneous	7	2	4	1 U. S.
IX	slavery	1		1	
X	location of capital	2		2	
XI	amendments	1		1	
XII	bill of rights	28	27	1	

The Kentucky constitution of 1792 may be found in Francis N. Thorpe (comp.), *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*. . . , 7 vols. (Washington, 1909), III, 1264-77. It has been compared with the copy found in the Journal of the Constitutional Convention and a few errors detected in Thorpe. The Pennsylvania constitution is also in *ibid.*, V, 3092-3103.

spirit of the earlier one. It awarded the franchise to adult free males who paid taxes. There were no property qualifications for officeholding. Representation was apportioned to taxable inhabitants. The influence of the Pennsylvania constitution upon Kentucky's constitution meant that the latter was more democratic than other southern constitutions.

The features of the Kentucky constitution are even more important than the sources from which it was drawn. The lower house of the legislature was chosen annually by free adult males. The representatives were apportioned every four years according to the number of eligible voters and not by counties as in Virginia. The senators were chosen for a term of four years by an electoral college which in turn was elected by the free adult males every four years. The governor was also elected by the same electoral college for a similar term. The electoral college was copied from the Maryland constitution and, of course, represented a deviation from the Pennsylvania document. It was not a satisfactory arrangement and was soon eliminated. It has generally been regarded as a conservative feature of the constitution because it lessened direct popular control, but it is to be noticed that the electors were popularly elected, that there were no property qualifications, and that the electoral college delayed rather than prevented the accomplishment of the popular will.

The judges were appointed by the governor and Senate for good behavior. Sheriffs, coroners, and company officers of the militia were to be elected. The legislature was denied the right to emancipate slaves without first paying for them and securing the consent of the owners. The bill of rights was substantially the same as Pennsylvania's, guarding the rights of the people, guaranteeing freedom of religion, and prohibiting an established church.

No doubt the constitution was the result of compromise, and was not as liberal as the radicals had hoped. On the other hand, when viewed in the light of other constitutions of that day it was very democratic. The principles which the back country and lowland had fought over were in Kentucky decided in accordance with the wishes of the more liberal forces. The constitution embodied free white manhood suffrage,

equal representation, popular control of government, and freedom of religion. The liberal elements in the South Atlantic states were to continue to struggle for some of these principles until slavery and secession distracted their attention to other issues. Distrust of the people was written into the Kentucky constitution only to the extent of preventing hasty popular action. This was accomplished by means of the electoral college, by preventing emancipation of slaves, and possibly by giving the Supreme Court original jurisdiction in land cases. The tidewater aristocracy was based upon property qualifications, inequality of representation, an established church, large landholdings, and slavery. Only the last two, large landholdings and slavery, crossed the mountains into Kentucky; the others failed to make the crossing. The frontiersmen had won a substantial victory for a more democratic society.

This victory was significant. In addition to the government established for Kentucky, the constitution which embodied it was influential either directly or indirectly as a model for other constitutions of neighboring states. The convention of 1799 in Kentucky made but few changes in the older document, and states from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois on the north, to Missouri and Arkansas on the west, and Mississippi and Louisiana on the south chose to follow some of the sections of one or the other of these Kentucky constitutions in forming their own fundamental law.⁶⁰ And as the Kentuckians had done before them, they chose many of the parts of their constitutions from earlier documents, and gradually these new constitutions showed progress towards the realization of a more complete and workable democratic government.

⁶⁰ Philip D. Uzée, "The First Louisiana State Constitution: A Study of its Origin" (M. A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1938); John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Ohio," in *Journal of Southern History*, III (1937), 28-42; *id.*, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History* (Bloomington, 1905-), XXXIII (1937), 261-76; *id.*, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Illinois," in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield, 1908-), XXXII (1939), 358-78. The constitutions referred to may be found in Thorpe (comp.), *Federal and State Constitutions*. While preparing this article, advantage was taken of advising with Mrs. Clara C. Holmes who was writing an M. A. thesis on "The First Kentucky Constitution" (Louisiana State University, 1940).

The Southern Frontier During King George's War

BY NORMAN W. CALDWELL

The history of the southern frontier has not been given proper emphasis by writers on the American colonial period, partly because of the relative inaccessibility of source materials pertaining to that subject. On the other hand, much more attention has been given to Anglo-French rivalry in the region of the Great Lakes and the Ohio because of the early availability of the materials concerning the history of those regions.¹ This paper, based upon archival material, some of which has only recently become available, seeks to emphasize the rivalry of the English and the French in the southern region during King George's War (1744-1748), and particularly to bring out the roles of the several Indian nations in this struggle.

¹ Although the colonial records of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts were early made available in published form to students, much of the corresponding materials for the history of the southern colonies must still be sought in foreign archives. From the French side, the most important materials on Canadian history have been published chiefly in calendar form in the *Canadian Archives Reports*, and the provincial publications have been voluminous. In recent years the New Orleans Cabildo records have been published in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, but the greater part of the materials relating to early Louisiana are in French and Spanish archives. The Illinois Historical Survey at Urbana has recently secured a notable collection of photostats and transcripts from European archives relating to the early history of the Mississippi Valley, and especially to the "Illinois Country."

The subject of the southern frontier is treated in Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Philadelphia, 1929). The writer's dissertation, "The French in the West in the 1740's," which will appear in the University of Illinois *Studies in the Social Sciences*, also attempts a discussion of this subject within a limited period. The present paper is indebted to this study for much of the material used. Special obligation is also acknowledged to the Illinois Historical Survey and to the Newberry Library at Chicago for permission to use their extensive manuscript and photostatic collections.

Both the English and the French were latecomers to the Lower South. Oglethorpe's Georgia venture had been begun as late as 1732, and the French settlement at New Orleans which had firmly established French power in Louisiana was made hardly a decade and a half earlier. The English settlements in the Carolinas were of course older and more populous. At the beginning of hostilities in 1744 the English in Georgia and South Carolina probably outnumbered the French in Louisiana four to one. Georgia alone had as many people as all Louisiana.² In another respect the English also had the advantage: their settlements were clustered for the most part near Charleston and Savannah, while the French settlements were scattered over an area stretching from the Gulf Coast to the Illinois country. However, the conflict between the English and the French in the South was not to be of a military nature. Each side was too weak to carry on any effective campaign against the other. Then, too, the presence of strong Indian nations in the great region that lay between the settlements of the two belligerents prevented any actual contact by land. The real struggle therefore was to be a diplomatic one; whoever should succeed in gaining control of these Indians could consequently master the South.

In the region between the southern settlements of the English and the French in Louisiana were located the nations of the Catawba, the Creek, the Cherokee, the Chickasaw, and the Choctaw. Of these the Cherokee were by far the most powerful; it was generally estimated that they could muster six thousand warriors. They were located in the region comprising what is now the southwestern part of Virginia, western North Carolina, South Carolina, northern Georgia, eastern

² The population of South Carolina in 1748 has been estimated at 25,000, that of Georgia in 1760 at 9,300. Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1921), 334-35; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1899), 274, 807 (appendix VI). These figures exclude Negroes. Slavery was illegal in Georgia previous to 1749, but, according to McCrady, South Carolina had some 39,000 Negroes at that time. The French in Louisiana numbered 8,830 in 1746, including slaves. Archives Nationales, Colonies (further citations from these materials will be given as A. N. C. with serial numbers; all references to them are taken from photostats and transcripts in the Illinois Historical Survey), C¹⁸A, 30, ff. 256-57.

Tennessee, and northeastern Alabama. For some years the Cherokee had been on good terms with the English, though it is known that they had accepted a French missionary as early as 1736.³ Next in power were the Choctaw, who occupied the Gulf Coast and ranged into the uplands east of the lower Mississippi. It was estimated at this time that the nation numbered four thousand fighting men. They had been staunch allies of the French from the founding of Louisiana and in 1730 had fought with them in the war against the Natchez. The common hatred of the French and Choctaw for the Chickasaw served to bind them more closely together.⁴ To the east of the Choctaw, in present Georgia and eastern Alabama, the Creek nation boasted twenty-five hundred warriors. The Creek had been allies of the English in the Apalachee wars of 1703-1708 but in 1715 they joined the Cherokee and the Yamassee in the war against South Carolina. When Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia he took steps calculated to win back Creek favor.⁵ The Chickasaw, once very powerful but now numbering only about six hundred fighting men, lived in the present state of Mississippi, chiefly in the Yazoo region, where they were harassed by the French and the Choctaw. For some years the French had been trying to exterminate this fierce tribe, who had given refuge to the Natchez after the uprising of 1729.⁶ The Chickasaw struck back, attacking French convoys and outposts on the Mississippi with such deadly effect as to threaten seriously the line of communication between Lower Louisiana and the Illinois country. Costly campaigns in 1736 and again in 1740-1741 had failed to crush this resistance, and the French had compromised by making a flimsy peace at the end of the latter campaign.⁷ To the

³ James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), 240-43; Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2 pts. (Washington, 1906-1912), I, 246.

⁴ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 288.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 363.

⁶ After the massacre of the French at Natchez in 1729, the Natchez had fled to the Chickasaw for protection.

⁷ For a discussion of the Chickasaw wars at this time, see Norman W. Caldwell, "The Chickasaw Threat to French Control of the Mississippi in the 1740's," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1921-), XVI (1938), 465-92.

east of the Cherokee in the region of the present North Carolina-South Carolina boundary were the Catawba. Like the Chickasaw, this tribe had once been very powerful but were now reduced to only a few hundred warriors and were dependent entirely upon the protection of the English against the Iroquois and other northern tribes.⁸

Upon the outbreak of war with the English in 1744, the French in Louisiana immediately found themselves at a disadvantage for two reasons. In the first place, the colony had spent large sums in the Chickasaw campaign of 1740-1741 and had not yet recovered in an economic sense.⁹ Secondly, signs of defection had begun to appear among the Choctaw, who were the most valuable Indian allies of the French. This disaffection may be traced back to 1738 when one faction of that nation proffered friendship to the English. Only the enmity of the Chickasaw had then prevented the English from accepting the Choctaw offer.¹⁰ Subsequently English traders made their way to some of the outlying Choctaw towns, encouraged by Chief Red Shoe, who had connections with both the Chickasaw and the Cherokee.¹¹ The French were quick to recognize the danger presented by Red Shoe and his pro-English element and sternly rebuked them. In this policy they were at first successful, but upon the outbreak of the war with the

⁸ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 214. For further information on location and numbers of these tribes, see Memoir of 1746, A. N. C., C¹⁸A, 30, ff. 259-60; M. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War . . .*, 1755-60, 2 vols. (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), II, 259 ff.; Memoir of De Richarville, 1739, A. N. C., C¹⁸A, 4, ff. 202-205; Governor James Glen to Lords of Trade, February, 1747, Public Record Office, Colonial Office (cited hereafter as P. R. O., C. O.; all references to these materials are from photostats in the Illinois Historical Survey), 5/372; South Carolina Council Minutes, April 14, 1747, *ibid.*, 5/455; Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 227, 232 ff. See also, Frank J. Klingberg, "The Indian Frontier in South Carolina as Seen by the S. P. G. Missionary," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), V (1939), 479-500.

⁹ For Louisiana's financial difficulties at this time, see Nancy M. Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Regime, 1699-1763* (New York, 1916), 134; Caldwell, "The Chickasaw Threat to French Control," in *loc. cit.*, 465-92.

¹⁰ Glen to Lords of Trade, December, 1751, P. R. O., C. O. 5/373; Henry Parker to Glen, April 16, 1751, *ibid.*, 5/643; Bienville to Minister, March 7, 1741, A. N. C., C¹⁸A, 26, ff. 55-60.

¹¹ The Choctaw for Red Shoe was given as *Shulashummashtabe* by Adair; Glen spelled it *Shullashomastabbe*. Adair alleged that Red Shoe's hatred for the French began when a certain Frenchman corrupted the Chief's favorite wife. *History of the American Indians*, 314 ff.

English with the resultant scarcity of supplies among the French traders, Red Shoe became bolder. The arrival of supplies at the end of the year, however, put the French in a somewhat more favorable position and served to discredit the rebel temporarily.¹²

During the following year, however, it became evident to the French that the hostile faction among the Choctaw could no longer be tolerated.¹³ The English through James Adair, a skillful trader among the Cherokee and the Chickasaw,¹⁴ had made an alliance with Red Shoe, as a result of which the Chief became so bold as to order the murder of three French traders. Governor Vaudreuil¹⁵ at once determined to arouse the loyal Choctaw to a war of extermination against the rebels.¹⁶

The French therefore dispatched a special mission to the Choctaw headed by Major de Beauchamp.¹⁷ The Major carried with him a train

¹² Bienville to Minister, March 7, 1741, A. N. C., C¹A, 26, ff. 55-60^v; *id.* to *id.*, March 28, 1742, *ibid.*, 27, ff. 63-67; Vaudreuil to De Velle, January 29, 1744, in Vaudreuil MSS. (photostats in Illinois Historical Survey from original letter book now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California), 24-24^v; *id.* to D'Ernéville, November 11, 1744, *ibid.*, 72-74. Four additional French missionaries were also to be sent to the Choctaw at this time. L'Abbé de L'Isle Dieu to Pontbriand, February 2, 1746, in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1935-1936* (Quebec, 1921-), 280. Cited hereafter as *Quebec Archives Reports*. With the arrival of supplies in 1744 and 1745, Governor Vaudreuil took steps to establish additional stores in the Choctaw country so as to pacify the rebels. Vaudreuil to Minister, December 18, 1744, A. N. C., C¹A, 28, ff. 257-59; *id.* to Loubois, September 10, 28, 1745, in Vaudreuil MSS., 87^v, 88 ff.

¹³ Vaudreuil to De Beauchamp, November 29, 1745; *id.* to Loubois, June 13, 1745, in Vaudreuil MSS., 92-92^v, 98-99. It is hard to ascertain how many of the forty odd Choctaw towns followed Red Shoe. Both Adair and Glen professed to believe that at one time fewer than a half a dozen towns were unaffected in their allegiance to the French. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 328; Glen to Lords of Trade, October 10, 1748, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372.

¹⁴ James Adair (c. 1709-c. 1783) spent the period from about 1735 to 1769 in America, chiefly as a trader among the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. In 1775 he published his book, *The History of the American Indians*, in London. William J. Ghent, "James Adair," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), I, 33-34.

¹⁵ Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil (1704-1778), was governor of Louisiana from 1743 to 1753 and governor of New France from 1753 to 1760.

¹⁶ Vaudreuil to Loubois, August 23, 1746, in Vaudreuil MSS., 102-103. Adair, working through a Chickasaw named Pastabe, encouraged Red Shoe to attack the French. *History of the American Indians*, 305, 314-18.

¹⁷ De Beauchamp, whose Christian name is not known, was a Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis, holding the rank of major. That he was intrusted with this mission indicates he was a skilled diplomat.

of merchandise and made his way to the distant villages in an attempt to discredit the rebels. Failing to persuade the villages to return to French allegiance, De Beauchamp was reduced to the necessity of attempting to secure the assassination of Red Shoe. This plan also failed because no one could be found bold enough to attempt the deed except the Chief's brother, who, however, had scruples on the subject. Consequently De Beauchamp was forced to return empty handed. Red Shoe's next step was to send his brother Mingo to Charleston bearing a proposal of formal alliance with the English. The terms of this alliance provided for an attack by Red Shoe and the rebellious Choctaw against Fort Tombigbee,¹⁸ the English promising to provide the necessary arms and supplies as well as to establish trading posts in the Choctaw country.¹⁹

While the troubles with the Choctaw were brewing, the English officials at Charleston and Savannah seem to have been for the most part unaware of what was happening. From the evidence at hand it is plain that Adair and his fellow traders had engineered the Red Shoe rebellion without the official cognizance of the English colonial authorities. Governor James Glen, who had but lately succeeded to the governorship of South Carolina, was slow to take charge of affairs in the remote regions until the rebellion among the Choctaw seemed suddenly to open up a golden opportunity for the conquest of Louisiana.²⁰

Glen's failure to take advantage of the Choctaw rebellion in its earlier stages may be partly explained by his preoccupation with the

¹⁸ This fort, located on the Tombigbee River, had been built by the French during the Chickasaw campaign of 1736.

¹⁹ De Beauchamp's Journal is printed in Newton D. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 261 ff. Despite the fact that the loyal Choctaw had by this time condemned Red Shoe's actions, Governor Glen professed to believe that Mingo represented the will of the whole nation. See Glen to Lords of Trade, February, 1751, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372; South Carolina Council Minutes, April, 1747, p. 65, *ibid.*, 5/455.

²⁰ Glen was born in Scotland in 1701. Appointed to the governorship of South Carolina in 1738, he did not assume the office until December 19, 1743. His dislike for America joined to his haughtiness and inexperience ill-fitted him for the office. He served as governor until January 1, 1756. McCrady, *South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, 250-51, 321-22.

other great neighboring tribes. It has been noted that the French began to extend their influence among the Cherokee in 1736 by sending a missionary to them. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, rumors reached Charleston that several Cherokee towns had been converted to French allegiance, and requests were made to Glen for diplomatic action.²¹ These rumors soon led to uneasiness among the people of the frontier settlements, who feared a general Franco-Indian attack against the English in the South to avenge the loss of Louisburg.²² Some of the outlying settlements were actually attacked and pillaged by roving bands of Indians, probably Chickasaw and Creek. Although no lives were lost, horses and livestock were taken or killed and some of the whites made captive. In Saxe-Gotha and New Windsor townships, where most of the settlers were recent Swiss and German immigrants, the people were especially panic stricken.²³

The General Assembly of South Carolina met in March of 1746 and voted a considerable quantity of arms and munitions for the defense of the frontier. Messages were sent to the Cherokee and Chickasaw complaining of the recent disturbances, and the Governor was instructed to journey into the back country to encourage the loyalty of the Indians by a liberal distribution of presents. Late in April Glen set out for Ninety-Six, a common meeting place near the Cherokee

²¹ James Beamer to Glen, March 21, 1745/46, in South Carolina Council Minutes, April 11, 1746, pp. 81-82, P. R. O., C. O. 5/455; Council Minutes, March 27, 1746, pp. 75-76, *ibid.* In September word was received that eleven Cherokee towns had gone over to the French. Council Minutes, October 21, 1746, p. 166, *ibid.* French agents seem to have ingratiated themselves with the Cherokee by promising to buy all kinds of skins, whereas the English took only deerskins. Chief Kewohee to Glen, March 19, 1746, in Council Minutes, March 27, 1746, p. 71, *ibid.*; Glen to Lords of Trade, December, 1751, *ibid.*, 5/373.

²² French prestige had suffered much as a result of the fall of Louisburg in 1745, and it was expected there would be attempts at revenge.

²³ For references to the panic on the frontier, see Paper by Stephen Crell, in P. R. O., C. O. 5/373; Journal of Colonel Francis Seziaw in 1746, *ibid.*; affidavits of traders, *ibid.*; South Carolina Council Minutes, April 11, 1746, p. 81, *ibid.*, 5/455; John Haig to Glen, March 21, 1745/46; Cornelius Cook to *id.*, April 8, 1746, *ibid.*; Glen to Lords of Trade, April 14, 1748, *ibid.*, 5/372. New Windsor Township, guarded by Fort Moore, was located on the Savannah opposite the present Augusta, Georgia. Saxe-Gotha Township was located on the Congaree and flanked by the Saluda on the north. McCrady, *South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, 299-300 and map (frontispiece).

country.²⁴ Here on May 1, 1746, a council was held with some sixty of the Cherokee chiefs. The Governor reminded them of their obligations to the English and shamed them for their dealing with the French. He failed to impress the chiefs favorably and consequently his request for permission to build a fort in their country was refused.²⁵ Meetings with the Chickasaw and Creek at Fort Moore a short time later achieved no better success.²⁶ Meanwhile, the General Assembly had voted to erect small forts in the outlying townships and to equip ranger patrols among the settlers, measures which undoubtedly were of more effect in restoring order than the harangues of the Governor.²⁷

The failure of Glen's mission to the Cherokee was probably due in large part to his inexperience in diplomacy.²⁸ It should be mentioned also that the Cherokee resented the English plan to build a fort in their territory, even though they had once practically granted such permission.²⁹ Glen had proposed the construction of large forts among the Cherokee and Choctaw and smaller ones among the Chickasaw and Catawba. The larger forts would be garrisoned with fifty or more men, and the smaller ones with twenty-five men each. Mounted rangers were

²⁴ Ninety-Six was located in the present Laurens County, South Carolina, and was so named from its distance from the first Cherokee town. Here the trail forked, one branch going to Fort Moore, the other to Charleston. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 244 n.; McCrady, *South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, map (frontispiece).

²⁵ South Carolina Council Minutes, April 11, 14-17, 1746, pp. 85-89, 91-93; P. R. O., C. O. 5/455; Glen to Lords of Trade, September 29, 1746, *ibid.*, 5/371. For the Cherokee distrust of Glen, see Emperor of the Cherokee to Glen, October 10, 1744, *ibid.*, 5/371. Glen's defense of his conduct before the home government was that he had saved the colony money by conducting the negotiations in person. Glen to Lords of Trade, April 23, 1748, *ibid.*, 5/372.

²⁶ Glen to Lords of Trade, September 29, 1746, *ibid.*, 5/371.

²⁷ South Carolina Council Minutes, April 16, 1746, *ibid.*, 5/455.

²⁸ Glen does not impress one as being well acquainted with the finesse of Indian diplomacy. On Indian diplomacy, see Canada, *Memoir on the Indian Nations*, 1742, A. N. C., C¹A, 78, ff. 388-92.

²⁹ Evidently the Cherokee now repudiated an earlier sale of certain lands to the English for the building of a fort. See Deed of Sale, February 12, 1746, P. R. O., C. O. 5/373; Glen to Lords of Trade, October 10, 1748; July 19, 1749, *ibid.*, 5/372. The Cherokee may also have resented the trespasses of certain South Carolinians who were then prospecting for silver in the upper Savannah region. Trustees' Minutes, January 16, 23, 30, 1743/44; June 15, 1744, in Allen D. Candler (comp.), *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 25 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-1915), I, 440, 441-43, 455-56.

preferred to foot soldiers, Glen emphasizing the protection such mobile units would afford traders going into the more remote regions. The English therefore concentrated their efforts on securing the goodwill of the Cherokee toward the proposed fort. In 1747 some of the tribe expressed a desire for the fort, thus greatly encouraging the Governor in his plans. The whole scheme came to naught, however, when the home government made no reply to Glen's request for the needed sums. The Assembly had nothing better to offer as a means of raising money than the proposal to issue £150,000 in paper currency.⁸⁰

The failure on the part of the Governor to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Cherokee was followed by new troubles. Uncertainty as to the attitude of the Indians sharply diminished traders' returns as they found themselves unable to exploit the trade in the more distant parts. According to Glen's own accounts, the yearly exportation of deerskins from Charleston fell by over one hundred hogsheads in the period 1746-1749. The Assembly, at odds with the Governor over trade policies, had appointed Colonel George Pawley⁸¹ as overseer of the trade. Glen had not only failed to support Pawley, but had even taken measures to prevent his exercising any effective control over the trade.⁸² The net result of this squabble was that no sound trading policy could be carried out among the Indians, and soon new outbreaks were reported from the Cherokee. Despite the fact that some of the chiefs of this tribe had renewed their alliance with the English in 1747,

⁸⁰ Glen to Lords of Trade, February, 1747; September 15, 1750, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372; *id.* to *id.*, April 28, 1747, *ibid.*, 5/371; South Carolina Council Minutes, April 15, 1747, p. 48; June 6, 1747, pp. 3-14; June 28, 1748, p. 107, *ibid.*, 5/455; Council Minutes, June 10, 1747, *ibid.*, 5/371. The repairing of Fort Moore was the single tangible accomplishment.

⁸¹ Colonel George Pawley was one of the founders of Georgetown, and served from 1735 as harbor commissioner for the colony. McCrady, *South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, 139-40.

⁸² The exportation of deerskins, estimated at 600-700 hogsheads in 1746, had fallen to 535 hogsheads by 1749. Glen to Lords of Trade, September 29, 1746, P. R. O., C. O. 5/371; Governor's Observations Upon Some Acts of the General Assembly in 1747 and 1748, *ibid.*, 5/342; An Account of Goods Exported from Charles Town, November 1, 1748-November 1, 1749, *ibid.*, 5/372. McCrady, quoting John H. Logan, estimated the exports of deerskins at 720 hogsheads in 1747. He stated that over 225,000 deer were killed in the province in 1731. *South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, 270-71.

traders were killed or kidnaped in 1748, and Colonel Pawley himself was insulted. This state of affairs served to force the co-operation of the Governor and the Assembly. New ranger patrols were sent to the border and presents were withheld from certain chiefs. Order was finally restored, though desultory raids on the Georgia settlements from the Cherokee country were made by Shawnee and others as late as 1750.⁸³

The above accounts of English relations with the Cherokee and Chickasaw explain sufficiently why Governor Glen and his advisers were preoccupied during the early stages of the rebellion among the Choctaw. At the same time troubles among the Catawba and the Creek were equally serious.

As has already been explained, the Catawba were old allies of the English in the Carolinas, but their enmity for the Iroquois and other northern tribes had become a constant menace to peace. When the Cherokee began to deal with the French, they allowed the Chickasaw, who were enemies to the Catawba, to make raids on the latter from the west. This, joined to the growth of French influence among the Iroquois, left the Catawba very uneasy for their safety. Although Governor Glen made special efforts to reassure them in 1746, he was not successful. Peter Chartier and his roving bands of Shawnee brought additional threats which even the restoration of peace between England and France did not remove. Throughout this period it was necessary for the Carolina and Virginia governments to subsidize the Catawba heavily in order to keep them secure against the threats of their neighbors.⁸⁴

⁸³ South Carolina Council Minutes, April 8, 1748, pp. 35-37; June 21, 29, 1748, pp. 124 ff., P. R. O., C. O. 5/455; Council Minutes, June 20, 1748, p. 139, *ibid.*, 5/458; Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 276-77, 344-48. English negotiations with the Cherokee and Catawba in 1749 were greatly handicapped when a fatal sickness broke out among the Indians as they were being entertained in Charleston. The French of course made capital of this. Glen to Lords of Trade, December 23, 1749, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372; South Carolina Council Minutes, May 26, 1747, p. 109, *ibid.*, 5/455. See also, Glen to Lords of Trade, undated, *ibid.*, 5/373, in which further criticisms of Glen's diplomacy are aired.

⁸⁴ Thomas Brown to Glen, April 1, 1746, in South Carolina Council Minutes, April 11, 1746, pp. 81-82, P. R. O., C. O. 5/455; John Ellis to Henry Morris, May 10, 1746, in *Virginia, General Assembly, Calendar of State Papers and Other Manuscripts, Decem-*

If the English were preoccupied with the troubles among the Cherokee, the Chicksaw, and the Catawba, they were even more handicapped by conditions existing among the Georgia Indians. For, despite the prevailing uncertainty as to the devotion of his savage allies, Glen had gone ahead with the formulation of a plan for a general attack upon the French by land and sea.³⁵ An integral part of this plan was the provision for the occupation of Spanish Florida, a venture which could not be undertaken without the good will of the Creek nation. But the Creek were in no mood to assist in an attack against the French, a considerable faction of that nation under the leadership of their famous princess, Mary Bosomworth, having gone over to French influence. The trouble with the Creek is somewhat involved and requires some explanation.³⁶

When Oglethorpe had made his treaty with the Creek nation at the time of the foundation of the Georgia colony, he had received from the Indians only the tidewater strip. The first grievances of the Creek seem to have been caused by alleged violations of this treaty on the part of the whites, who insisted on going farther inland to cut timber.

ber, 1652-April, 1869, 11 vols. (Richmond, 1875-1893), I, 239; Lords of Trade to Duke of Bedford, January 10, 1750/51; *id.* to Colonel Thomas Lee, September 1, October 15, 1750, in Virginia Correspondence, 469-73, 457-58, 463-65, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1366. The French were now (1749) pressing into the Ohio and through Peter Chartier, a French halfbreed who controlled one faction of the Shawnee, seem to have been promoting both intrigues and violence among the Catawba and other southern allies of the English. On the Shawnee at this time, see Norman W. Caldwell, "Shawneetown—A Chapter in the Indian History of Illinois," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield, 1908-), XXXII (1939), 193-205.

³⁵ The plan for a general attack on the French seems to have been considered by the Council early in the war. South Carolina Council Minutes, November 1, 1745, pp. 176-77, P. R. O., C. O. 5/455. As late as 1751 Glen still held that the plan had been feasible. Glen to Lords of Trade, December, 1751, *ibid.*, 5/373. After the restoration of peace in 1748, Glen urged English claims both on Louisiana and Florida. *Id.* to *id.*, February, 1751, *ibid.*, 5/13.

³⁶ Mary Bosomworth, a Creek princess, had been educated by the English. She was twice married to English husbands before she was married to Thomas Bosomworth, the Georgia missionary. She became deeply indebted to Charleston merchants as a result of her trading activities, and, being pressed by her creditors, listened to French overtures. Deposition of Mary Bosomworth, August 10, 1747, P. R. O., C. O. 5/656; Georgia Council Minutes, November 8, 1750, in Candler (comp.), *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, VI, 352.

In 1745 complaints of Creek enmity against English traders were made, but Governor Glen discounted these reports.⁸⁷ Glen's attitude toward the Creek troubles is explained in his quarrel with the Georgia authorities over the distribution of the annual Indian presents. The home government allowed yearly £3,000 for this item, the money being shared equally by the two colonies. This sum had formerly been allotted directly to the colonial governments, but the system of intrusting the money to special agents charged with the purchase and distribution of the presents had been lately introduced. It was the contention of the South Carolina colonial authorities that this method of distribution weakened their control of Indian policy, since the agents sometimes showed inefficiency in making purchases as well as poor judgment in distributing the presents to the savages. The Georgia authorities, contrary to this view, favored the new system. This controversy between the two governments was complicated by the fact that Abraham Bosomworth, brother-in-law to Mary Bosomworth, had been appointed as one of the agents charged with the distribution of the presents.⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Mrs. Bosomworth and her husband Thomas Bosomworth⁸⁹ had been strengthening their power and influence among the Creek nation. Early in 1747 they succeeded in winning over to their

⁸⁷ Mico to Mary Bosomworth, December 4, 1746; William Stephens to *id.*, March 29, 1747, P. R. O., C. O. 5/656; John McQueen to Martin Campbell, March 17, 1745/46, in South Carolina Council Minutes, April 11, 1746, pp. 83-84, *ibid.*, 5/455; Glen to Lords of Trade, September 29, 1746, *ibid.*, 5/371.

⁸⁸ Glen would naturally be opposed to any such agents who were named by the colonial assemblies. See Trustees' Minutes, May 24, 1748, in Candler (comp.), *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, I, 515, 516. Abraham Bosomworth arrived in Savannah in August, 1749, and at once espoused the claims of Mary Bosomworth. Georgia Council Minutes, August 22, 23, 1749, *ibid.*, VI, 281, 285-87. For Glen's viewpoint, see Glen to Lords of Trade, September 15, 1750, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372; James Crockatt to Lords of Treasury, undated, *ibid.*, 5/373; Memorial to the South Carolina Assembly and other pieces on the subject, *ibid.*, 5/13, 656. The Lords agreed to restore the former method of distribution in 1750.

⁸⁹ Thomas Bosomworth went to Georgia in 1743 as a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He married Mary probably in 1746 and located on a plantation at the forks of the Altamaha River, where, contrary to the law, he dealt in slaves. Journal of the Earl of Egmont, in Candler (comp.), *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, V, 630, 631, 686, 720, 724; Trustees' Minutes, May 24, 1744; October 28, November 1, 11, December 20, 1745; December 29, 1746; March 14, 1747/48, *ibid.*, I, 454-55, 476, 479, 480-83, 495, 506-507.

cause Malatchi Mico, one of the head chiefs, whom they set up as head of the tribe.⁴⁰ Mrs. Bosomworth now boasted that she would seek the protection of the French if certain claims which she held against the English were not satisfied, and she made her demands most specific by claiming a definite share of the annual Indian presents. Abraham Bosomworth immediately espoused the cause of his sister-in-law and did not hesitate to use his influence in London to promote her interests.⁴¹ Although the Georgia authorities finally succeeded in breaking the power of the Bosomworths, Glen's plan of attacking the French in the Alabama country and along the Gulf Coast was thwarted through the opposition thus offered. The plan to construct a strong fort among the Creek nation also had to be abandoned.⁴² The period ended with

⁴⁰ The Bosomworth claims, consisting of allegedly unpaid bounties to Mary Bosomworth or Jacob Matthews, her second husband, as well as claims for personal services on the part of Mary herself, arising from her office as interpreter to the Creek nation, were long an issue in Georgia. The colony filed counterclaims against Matthews. Trustees' Minutes, May 19, June 12, 1746, *ibid.*, 487-89; Georgia Council Minutes, January 25, 28, 1746/47, *ibid.*, VI, 205; E. Merton Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 66. On December 14, 1747, the Bosomworths in the presence of Colonel Alexander Heron and other Georgia officials declared Malatchi Mico chief of the Creek nation. The document drawn up on this occasion and signed by sixteen Creek chiefs along with Heron and others is now in the Ayer Collection (Newberry Library, Chicago). Colonel Heron was a staunch defender of the Bosomworths. After winning over Mico, in 1749 the Bosomworths and their Creek allies attempted a *coup d'état* against the government, which was, however, nipped in the bud by the colonial authorities. Georgia Council Minutes, August 7-19, 1749, in Candler (comp.), *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, VI, 258 *et passim*. After a long controversy during which the Bosomworths were arrested and then released (see various entries in *ibid.*), the government finally allowed them to retain Saint Catherines Island and paid them £2,100 for the surrender of their other claims. Coulter, *History of Georgia*, 66. See also, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), II, 152-65, for a more nearly contemporary account of the affair. There is no definite information on the question of French complicity.

⁴¹ Candler (comp.), *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, VI, 253-54, 280-87.

⁴² Glen to Lords of Trade, September 29, 1746, P. R. O., C. O. 5/371; South Carolina Council Minutes, November 3, 1746, pp. 179-80, *ibid.*, 5/455; Glen to Georgia Trustees, October, 1750; Henry Parker to Glen, April 16, 1751, *ibid.*, 5/643. The English made no attempt to punish Mico and the Creek chiefs who had supported the Bosomworths. On the proposed fort, see South Carolina Council Minutes, October 29, 1746, p. 175; November 1, 1746, pp. 178-79, *ibid.*, 5/455; Council Minutes, February 17, 1746/47, pp. 37-38, *ibid.*, 5/454. In 1747 the legislature voted to abandon the project. Council Minutes, May 16, 1747, pp. 8-9; June 6, 1747, pp. 54-55, *ibid.*, 5/455.

new attacks on English traders by the Creek warriors, who also reopened their struggle with the Cherokee.⁴³

Such were the fortunes of English diplomacy among the Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Catawba, and the Creek at the time when Red Shoe's rebellion offered an opportunity for the extension of English influence among the Choctaw. If carried to its logical conclusion this might well have wrested the control of that tribe from French hands. This side of the story logically follows.

Governor Glen, upon receiving the embassy headed by Mingo Puscuss, brother of Red Shoe, lost no time in entering into an alliance with the rebels as has been indicated. The arrival of a second deputation from Red Shoe shortly afterward further cemented this agreement. Glen's decision to support the Choctaw rebels was undoubtedly influenced by the testimony of a French deserter who arrived in Charleston at this time and who had much to say about French weakness in Louisiana.⁴⁴ In any case the Governor, as we have seen, concocted a grand scheme of attacking the French through encouraging the co-operation of the various Indian tribes with the Choctaw rebels. The English were to assist with a small force and subsidies of arms and munitions.⁴⁵ In the light of the conditions already described among

⁴³ George May *et al.* to Colonel Heron, August 18, 1747, *ibid.*, 5/656; Glen to Lords of Trade, September 15, October 2, 1750, *ibid.*, 5/372. In 1741 a treaty of peace had been drawn up between the Creek and Cherokee under English mediation. James Oglethorpe to Governor George Clarke, July 12, 1741, in E. B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow (eds.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1856-1888), VI, 211-12. Attempts to draw the Iroquois into this peace were foiled by the French through their agent L. T. de Joncaire. Governor William Bull to Clarke, June, 1741, *ibid.*, 210; Memoir of April, 1741, A. N. C., C¹¹A, 76, ff. 315-17.

⁴⁴ South Carolina Council Minutes, April 14, 1747, pp. 80-84, P. R. O., C. O. 5/455. Two Virginians, fleeing from French imprisonment in New Orleans, may also have reached Charleston at about this time. These men were members of a party taken on the Mississippi in 1742. See the travel account of John Peter Salley (Salling), in Fairfax Harrison, "The Virginians on the Ohio and the Mississippi in 1742," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (New Orleans, 1917-), V (1922), 323-32. The original copy is in P. R. O., C. O. 5/1327. See also, Vaudreuil and Le Normand to Minister, January 4, 1745, A. N. C., C¹⁸A, 29, f. 5^v; Vaudreuil to *id.*, April 8, 1747, *ibid.*, 31, f. 52-52^v.

⁴⁵ Glen to Lords of Trade, December, 1751, P. R. O., C. O. 5/373. This plan provided that Adair should lead the Chickasaw and Red Shoe's men in an attack on the French. Glen to Charles McNaire, December 18, 1747, *ibid.* The legislature estimated any effective

the several tribes, Glen's hopes of engineering a general Indian attack upon the French seem to have been ill-founded, to say the least. Then, too, the Council was opposed to the Governor's plan. In the session of June 6, 1747, that body expressed itself on the Choctaw rebellion as follows: "We are at a loss to guess on what foundation it can be imagined that we possess their Affections For they have hitherto been wholly devoted to the French." As to the fact that some of the Choctaw had come to the English, the Council were of the opinion that these savages had been obliged to come because of scarcity of goods among the French. The Council also had no faith in the promise of Red Shoe to attack Fort Tombigbee. Nevertheless, it was recommended that the recent action of the Assembly defeating the project to construct a fort among the Choctaw be reconsidered,⁴⁶ and it was decided to send large presents to the Choctaw, though Glen's proposal to equip a force to assist in an attack on the French was voted down.⁴⁷

Governor Glen, who was instructed by the Assembly to distribute the presents, was accused by Adair and others of conniving with certain of his friends in purposely delaying their delivery while a private company was being formed to exploit the Choctaw trade.⁴⁸ It was Adair's contention that had the Governor delivered them immediately to the Choctaw rebels, at the same time opening the region to the English traders, French control of the Choctaw could have been broken.⁴⁹ Glen admitted a delay in sending the presents, though he sought to excuse himself on grounds of trying to economize.⁵⁰ The gifts were prob-

attack on the French would require 600 men and an expenditure of £56,000, and contented itself with voting presents for the Choctaw. South Carolina Council Minutes, April 15, 1747, pp. 48-50, P. R. O., C. O. 5/455. For an account of the second Choctaw mission, see Glen to Lords of Trade, February, 1747, *ibid.*, 5/372.

⁴⁶ South Carolina Council Minutes, June 6, 1747, pp. 14-17, P. R. O., C. O. 5/455.

⁴⁷ Presents of 100 rifles, 800 pounds of powder, and 1,600 pounds of bullets were voted for the Choctaw, with smaller gifts for the Chickasaw and Creek.

⁴⁸ Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 321-31, 342 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Glen admitted that the presents were not sent toward the Choctaw country until November, after Red Shoe was already dead and his followers practically crushed. Glen to Lords of Trade, October 10, 1748, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372. He explained this delay by saying that he had awaited the departure of certain traders who had promised to carry the goods gratis, thus saving the government 500 guineas.

ably never delivered, and the company formed to exploit the Choctaw trade failed utterly in its undertaking.⁵¹ Glen's eagerness to silence Adair looks very suspicious, but Adair's claims that he might have saved the Choctaw rebels from French vengeance were probably ill-founded.⁵² It should be mentioned that the complaints of other traders against Glen and his "Sphinx Company" were quite as vociferous as those of Adair.⁵³

In the meantime, the French had been working hard to regain their control over the Choctaw nation. Although the failure of De Beauchamp's mission was very disheartening, Governor Vaudreuil did not doubt that the French would prevail in the end.⁵⁴ He was confident that the threatened English attack would not materialize and remained firm in his decision to withhold all merchandise and munitions from the Choctaw until they should agree to destroy the rebels.⁵⁵ He also placed considerable hope in the attempts of the Shawnee to mediate between the French and all southern Indians at that time.⁵⁶ Meanwhile,

⁵¹ According to John Vann, one of the traders intrusted with the delivery of the presents, the goods were delivered to the Choctaw in August, 1748, but this is doubtful. Meanwhile, the company organized by Glen and his associates had sent a train of 200 pack horses loaded with goods to exploit the Choctaw trade. Attacked by the French and Choctaw, as a result of which sixty pack horses were lost at one time, the company's venture was a total loss. Examination of John Vann, P. R. O., C. O. 5/373; Glen to Lords of Trade, December 23, 1749, *ibid.*; Memoir of September 6, 1748, A. N. C., C¹³A, 32, ff. 241-42^v.

⁵² Adair contended that the Choctaw returned to French allegiance only after it was plain no help was forthcoming from the English. He also claimed that Glen ordered him back to Charleston and purposely detained him there so that he could not interfere with the trading activities of the company. Adair later published a tract exposing Glen, who retaliated by opposing the trader's claims for compensation for his services and losses among the Choctaw. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 321-31, 270, 342-43.

⁵³ See complaints of Charles McNaire, trader, in South Carolina Commons Journal, May 16-17, 1749, pp. 1-8, P. R. O., C. O. 5/343; Glen to Crockatt, January 25, 1749, *ibid.*; McNaire to Lords of Trade, May 18, 1752, *ibid.*, 5/373. The government finally voted McNaire £1,000 (Carolina currency) in compensation for his losses. Brown, Rae, and Company, a Georgia firm, also asked for damages. Brown, Rae, and Company to Georgia Trustees, February 13, 1750, *ibid.*, 5/643.

⁵⁴ Vaudreuil to Loubois, September 15, 1746, in Vaudreuil MSS., 109-10. For a French summary of the revolt, see Memoir of 1747, A. N. C., C¹³A, 31, ff. 17-19.

⁵⁵ Vaudreuil to Hazeur, October 30, 1746, January 24, 1747, in Vaudreuil MSS., 119-19^v, 124-24^v.

⁵⁶ *Id.* to Le Soeur, October 18, 1746, *ibid.*, 117-17^v; *id.* to Minister, March 15, 1747, A. N. C., C¹³A, 31, f. 22-22^v.

the Jesuit missionary among the Choctaw, Father Michael Baudouin, had been laboring with the loyal chiefs to influence them to destroy Red Shoe and his followers. It soon became apparent that the "black robe" was succeeding in his plans. Then, too, the French embargo on merchandise was telling its tale, for as has been seen, the English had failed to supply the Indians with their necessities. Although some of the Choctaw were reported to have moved eastward toward the Carolinas, Vaudreuil correctly anticipated that no great number would leave their ancestral home.⁵⁷ That the French had won the victory became evident when the Choctaw in a general assembly held May 10, 1747, decided to deliver the heads of Red Shoe and certain other rebels as demanded.⁵⁸ In July the head of Red Shoe was handed over to the French authorities, but a number of English scalps were substituted for the others.⁵⁹ Trade with the Choctaw was resumed at once and tranquility reigned for a while.⁶⁰ Of course the French were still uneasy about reports of English traders among the Choctaw. Although the destruction of a large English pack train on the Tombigbee did something to allay these fears, the size of this band seemed to indicate widespread English operations in that region.⁶¹

In the following year some of the Choctaw rebels made renewed

⁵⁷ *Id.* to Loubois, April 7, 1747; *id.* to Le Soeur, April 7, 1747, in Vaudreuil MSS., 130-30^v, 131-31^v. By March, 1747, forty-two of the Choctaw towns had returned to French loyalty. *Id.* to Minister, March 15, 1747, A. N. C., C¹³A, 31, ff. 17-19. Although the Jesuits had been forced to abandon their Choctaw mission during the revolt, Father Baudouin seems to have remained with the Choctaw as a political agent. Michael Baudouin (1692-?) went to Louisiana in 1726 and spent eighteen years among the Jesuit missions in that colony. From 1749 to 1763 he was superior of the Louisiana missions. L'Abbé de L'Isle Dieu to Pontbriand, April 4, 1750, in *Quebec Archives Reports, 1935-1936*, p. 298; Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1904), LXVIII, 197 n.

⁵⁸ Minister to Vaudreuil, October, 1747, A. N. C., B, 85, f. 20.

⁵⁹ Vaudreuil to Minister, September 19, 1747, *ibid.*, C¹³A, 31, ff. 98-99. Adair said that Red Shoe was treacherously slain by one of his own men. *History of the American Indians*, 328-29.

⁶⁰ Vaudreuil to Loubois, July 30, 1747, in Vaudreuil MSS., 135^v-38.

⁶¹ As the French were unaware of the extent of English activity among the Choctaw, they were unnecessarily alarmed at finding so many traders in one band. See n. 51 above.

attacks on French settlers near Natchez and the "German Coast,"⁶² killing four persons.⁶³ The loyal Choctaw, encouraged by the French, now began a war of extermination against the rebels and in April, 1750, they brought to Mobile 130 rebel scalps. At last the Choctaw were again completely reconciled to French rule and the minor tribes in that region returned to quiet and peace.⁶⁴

Such is the story of the southern frontier during King George's War. The return of peace found the French more strongly intrenched in the South than ever before, their prestige among the southern tribes being greatly increased by their victory over Red Shoe and his followers. On the other hand, the English had been discredited among the tribes, particularly in regard to their handling of the Bosomworth affair, in which they had given a very poor account of themselves. The final struggle in America was to find the French masters of the South, their prestige being considerably increased as a result of the poor showing made by the English during this period.

⁶² So named from John Law's Germans who settled there.

⁶³ Glen to Lords of Trade, October 10, 1748, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372; Memoir of February 26, 1749, A. N. C., C¹³A, 33, ff. 146-47. Glen received certain French prisoners taken in these raids. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 320-21, 332-39; Glen to Lords of Trade, August 12, 1749; September 15, 1750, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372. Vaudreuil protested to Glen, demanding the release of the prisoners. *Id. to id.*, December 29, 1749, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Minute on Louisiana Dispatches, September 18, 1750, in O'Callaghan and Fernow (eds.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, X, 219-20; Vaudreuil to Minister, September 22, 1749, A. N. C., C¹³A, 33, ff. 79-83; Minister to Vaudreuil, September 30, 1750, *ibid.*, B, 91, f. 21-21^v. The rebels seem to have been practically annihilated by the loyalists and French who were aided in their work by ravages of the smallpox. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 328, 331-32. As late as 1751 Glen pretended that English influence was still strong among the Choctaw. Glen to Lords of Trade, undated, P. R. O., C. O. 5/372; *id. to id.*, December, 1751, *ibid.*, 5/373.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of The Southern Historical Association

BY ALBERT B. MOORE

The sixth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association was held at Charleston, South Carolina, November 7, 8, and 9, 1940. Headquarters were maintained at the Francis Marion Hotel. The attendance officially reported was 279, which was at least 50 more persons than had registered at any previous meeting of the Association. It was gratifying to learn from the Secretary-Treasurer's report that the Association's active membership has increased to 950¹ and that 41 states are represented. The character of the papers presented, the large attendance at each meeting, and the enthusiasm and interest manifested show that the Association has become a very vital agency in the promotion of research and writing in the field of southern history. Likewise, it is promoting understanding and good fellowship among all those interested in southern history, not only in the South but also throughout the country.

A new feature of Association activity, introduced in the Charleston meeting, marks the beginning of a broadened scope of work and usefulness. By authorization of the Executive Council the teachers of European history in the South were given a place on the program. A subcommittee on program, headed by Professor Ross H. McLean of Emory University, arranged two splendid sessions on European history. They were well attended and enthusiastically commended.

The importance of all teachers of history in southern institutions get-

¹ Thirty-five more members were added before the end of the fiscal year, bringing the total to 983. These, with 72 exchanges, gives a grand total of 1,055.

ting together at least once a year is obvious and the Southern Historical Association is the proper medium. Before the teachers of European history in the South were allowed a place on the Association's program they felt, as one professor expressed it, that they were being treated "a bit like stepchildren." A very constructive forward step was taken when the professors of European history were given a chance to promote research and teaching in their own field through the Association, and the European background of southern history offers an excellent opportunity for their endeavors. Likewise, the European background of the South and the relation of the South and Latin America offer inviting fields of research to the professors of Latin American history. There is good reason to believe that this group will soon be inducted into the Association and given a place on its annual programs.

The Charleston meeting began Thursday morning and extended to Saturday afternoon, and two separate programs, one on American history and one on European history, were presented simultaneously on Friday and Saturday mornings. All sessions were well attended. The American history sessions were held in the Ball Room of the Francis Marion Hotel and the European history sessions were held in Rooms D and E of the same building.

The Thursday morning meeting was devoted to a discussion of "The Anti-Slavery Crusade." Professor Albert Simpson of the Junior College of Augusta presented a paper on "The Origins of the Abolition Movement," and Professor Avery O. Craven of the University of Chicago presented one on "An Unorthodox Interpretation of the Abolition Movement."

Professor Simpson said that the abolition movement, like other great movements in history, sprang from a variety of causes. To treat it as one instigated and promoted by a holy band of saintly humanitarians is to depart from well-established methods of historical interpretation and to distort perspective. The assumption that the abolition crusade sprang exclusively from moral and religious impulses, Professor Simpson said, "disregards the existence of a strong spirit of sectionalism; it overlooks the importance of the West as an item in regional balance

of power, both political and economic; it even fails to admit the possibility that the crusade might have received an initial impetus because it offered such a splendid outlet for the activities of pornographic minds." Many facts were marshaled to show the political aspects of the movement down through the controversy over the admission of Missouri. By the time of this battle for sectional power the politicians had learned that in order to win "the people of the North must be united by the powerful emotional appeal of the immorality and injustice of slaveholding." Thus, "Slowly but very surely the two lines of antislavery sentiment—the political and the moral—drifted closer and closer together. The ineffectiveness of each of the two lines, so long as it stood separate and distinct from the other, became increasingly clear to the opponents of slavery." Even the archabolitionists did not overlook the political angle. "Before there was a religious antislavery movement in the 1830's, there was already a powerful political antislavery sentiment; and there was no real religious attack on slavery until it had become evident that the purely political attack could not succeed alone."

Professor Craven has summarized his paper as follows:

"The antislavery movement cannot be explained entirely in terms of the reactions of a few sensitive souls to a well-understood evil. It was the product of a series of complex happenings which took place in the northern part of the United States at the same time that cotton was building its kingdom in the Lower South. The industrial revolution was rapidly transforming the Northeast and bringing new groups and interests to dominance. . . . The whole social-economic-political order was undergoing change." Those who had difficulty in adjusting themselves became dissenters and tended to emphasize the ideologies of American democracy.

"Reactions to these changes sometimes took the form of protests against the concentration of wealth, sometimes of dislike of the cities by the countrymen, sometimes of a general denunciation of materialism in general. Liberal movements abroad and western expansion contributed something to both dreams and protests. A whole series of

reform movements arose—temperance reform, peace movements, efforts for woman's rights, prison reforms, etc. All expressed fear that the American dream was in danger; that democracy was being thwarted.

"Two centers of protest early appeared. One centered in the East and tended to abstract statement and effort. The other centered in the West and tended to express itself in political effort.

"The antislavery movement was part and parcel of this situation and of these reform moves. It took its form in the East from patterns already developed there, and in the West from both religious and political efforts such as characterized the expanding frontier. It ultimately absorbed or replaced most of these other efforts, though it sometimes combined with them as in the case of temperance in the Northwest. It went through two distinct phases, one in which the effort was more or less abstract in character and opposed slavery purely on moral grounds. In the second phase, it was combined with practical programs and shaped its doctrines in terms of democracy and Calvinistic theology. It substituted the southern planter for all aristocrats and all sinners and waged a bitter conflict for its own material ends in the name of morality and democracy."

Professor Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina, who discussed the papers of Professors Simpson and Craven, warned against the oversimplification of the abolition crusade. Politics, religious and moral forces, sectionalism and economic interests, stressed by the two papers presented, he said, were only the major factors in the movement. He found an ideological basis for the movement. The ideology of the abolition crusade "stemmed directly from the doctrine that all men were born *free*," so forcefully stated in the Declaration of Independence and the state bills of rights. Moreover, the American abolitionists were influenced by the ideology and leadership of the English humanitarian movement.

The theme of the Thursday afternoon session was "The Eve of Conflict." Three papers were presented: "The Call of the South Carolina Convention of 1860," by Professor Charles E. Cauthen of Columbia College; "The Conflict Between the Douglas and Yancey Forces in the

Charleston Convention," by Professor Austin L. Venable of the University of Arkansas; and "The Southern Highlander on the Eve of Conflict," by Mr. S. C. Beard, Jr., a graduate student at the University of Illinois.

Professor Cauthen discussed the decision of South Carolina to lead the secession movement. Sharp differences of opinion developed, he said, in the special session of the legislature which considered the call of a convention to take action on the secession question. The issue was co-operative secession versus separate state action. The legislature was on the point of calling a convention for the following January, but events in other states, especially Georgia, persuaded it to call an early convention for the purpose of immediate separate secession. News from Georgia was "apparently the deciding factor." "If this be true," Professor Cauthen said, "Georgia, however unwittingly, was largely responsible for South Carolina's decision to lead."

Professor Venable pointed out the fact that when the delegates to the National Democratic Convention assembled in Charleston they were divided between two schools of thought—one led by Stephen A. Douglas and the other by William L. Yancey—on the interpretation of the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Both factions agreed that the people of a territory could determine their domestic institutions for themselves, but they disagreed as to the time in the territorial stage at which the inhabitants were free to act. "Yancey and his disciples held that the authority of the people of a territory to exclude slavery did not begin until they assembled in convention to draft a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union, and that the Federal government was obligated to protect all property including slaves until that time." Douglas and his adherents claimed that the people of a territory could exclude slavery while still in the territorial stage, and denied the authority of the Federal government to protect it against their action.

The struggle over the admission of Kansas projected the opposing views into distinct relief. The Yancey forces, Professor Venable said, did not object to the convention referring the Lecompton constitution

to the people of Kansas for ratification, but they did object to Federal intervention for such purpose. The Douglas forces would not support the admission of Kansas unless the constitution were referred to the people. "Douglas' action in thus attempting to use the Federal government to force the convention to refer the Lecompton constitution to the people aroused the apprehension of the Southerners, for they regarded this as a violation of the principle of popular sovereignty." When Lincoln further smoked Douglas out on the popular sovereignty theory Southerners no longer had any doubt that Douglas' position was unsound. Thus the state rights group planned to demand of the National Democracy "an unequivocal guarantee of equal rights in the territories to all sections." Yancey led the fight. He dominated the party convention in Alabama over the opposition of John Forsyth, editor of the *Mobile Register* and the Douglas leader in the state, and carried the battle into South Carolina. The Douglas forces seized control of the convention and by three steps effected the nomination of Douglas. The third step was to drive out enough Southerners to permit the Douglas forces to secure the two-thirds vote necessary for nomination. It "succeeded beyond their intention, thus disrupting the convention."

Mr. Beard pointed out that the mountains and valleys of the South were settled by people of the same racial stock, but the ultimate difference in economic status resulting from different environments produced on the part of the poor highlanders a natural antipathy "against valley people in politics, in religion, in everything controversial." The mountain people "withdrew into themselves and came to live in a world by themselves. Their religion was that of the Primitive Baptist faith; their language and custom were those of their Elizabethan forebears; their law was that of the frontier—'It is right to kill an enemy, it is wrong to kill a friend and it is open season always upon government agents.' " Out of this frontier law grew the feud. In the mountain region there was no uniform pattern of thought on the institution of slavery. Those who had retreated back into the "piedmont fringe" were hostile to slavery. Hinton Rowan Helper, one of this group,

expressed well their attitude and beliefs. Farther back in the mountains, where slaves were fewer and those held generally lived in a kindly servitude, there was more or less indifference to slavery, "born of a lack of familiarity with its workings." Among this group arose in 1860 an intense argument on "union versus disunion."

On Thursday afternoon at half-past four the Cadet Corps of The Citadel gave a dress parade in honor of the Southern Historical Association on The Citadel's beautiful parade ground. The parade was followed by a reception by the President and faculty of The Citadel in the Reception Room of the Administration Building. At seven o'clock a complimentary dinner was given by The Citadel to the Southern Historical Association, the South Carolina Historical Association, and the South Carolina Historical Society in The Citadel Mess Hall. General Charles P. Summerall, president of the The Citadel, presided. In a brief but gracious and delightful address he made all present feel that they were welcomed in the best of southern traditions and he exhibited a keen awareness of the importance of history.

Mr. Samuel Gaillard Stoney of Charleston, representing the South Carolina Historical Society, gave a very interesting and humorous discussion of the Gullah Negro. Mr. Stoney discussed the probable origin of the word Gullah, what the Gullah Negro was and now is in the South Carolina low country. From Angola slaves the word Gullah became an adjective "descriptive of the sort of mental ineptness that was their chief characteristic. Hence it was applied to the more pronounced low country dialect." The Gullah dialect, its derivations, and peculiarities were illustrated with stories and words. Professor D. D. Wallace of Wofford College, representing the South Carolina Historical Association, read a paper on "The Question of the Withdrawal of the South Carolina Electors in the Presidential Election of 1876." The issue discussed by Professor Wallace was whether General Wade Hampton advocated the withdrawal of the Democratic presidential electors for South Carolina in 1876 in order to obtain Republican support for the governorship of the state. The question grew out of the acrimonious rivalry between the Hampton and Gary factions for the control of

the state, after the Republicans had been overthrown and it "was safe to reopen the old class and sectional controversies." Professor Wallace contended that Hampton rejected the proffered trade. General Gary wrote to J. S. Cothran, Samuel McGowan, and Robert Toombs asking them to support his charge that Hampton, in a conference with them, advocated the withdrawal of the Democratic electors, but all three replied denying the charge. On the basis of these letters, now extant, Professor Wallace refuted the charge against Hampton and took to task Mr. W. A. Sheppard of Spartanburg for ignoring them in the preparation of his recent "bitterly partisan book (otherwise of considerable value) praising Gary and showing almost unmeasured prejudice against Hampton."

On Friday morning, November 8, at half-past ten the Association met in two simultaneous sessions, one on the "Military History of the Confederacy," and the other on "The Mediterranean in World Politics." Two papers were presented to the session on Confederate military history: one by Professor John P. Dyer of Armstrong Junior College on "Cavalry Operations in the Army of Tennessee"; and one by Professor Charles G. Summersell of the University of Alabama on "Raphael Semmes and the Cruise of the Sumter." It was in the West, Professor Dyer said, "that the Confederacy was defeated," and the "misuse of the cavalry was a contributing factor in this defeat." The Confederate cavalry "greatly outnumbered the Federal" and the Federals were forced to maintain long lines of communications, but even so the Confederates never succeeded in cutting these lines. "Bragg allowed Rosecrans to maintain communications with his base at Louisville and to establish a secondary base at Nashville." An effective use of Confederate cavalry "would have meant the cutting of this line and thus delaying almost indefinitely the Federal advance against Chattanooga." The Atlanta campaign furnishes a similar illustration of failure to use the Confederate cavalry effectively. The Confederate generals were singularly ineffective in the use of cavalry, and quarreling among the cavalry leaders, especially Forrest and Wheeler, "made for confusion and poor co-ordination in the mounted branch of the Army of Tennessee."

Professor Summersell said that Semmes' career in diplomacy prior to the cruise of the *Alabama* has not had a detailed study. Semmes' diplomatic activities as well as the naval ones aboard the *Sumter* paved the way for the success of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers. Neither the Union nor the Confederate navies owned foreign naval bases. "This tended toward a theoretical naval equality in distant ports which Semmes labored to convert into real equality in international law. That this was never fully realized was a phase of the well-known failures of Confederate diplomacy." The success of the Confederate commerce raiders, however, "was partly due to the interpretations of the neutrality proclamations which Semmes secured from neutral nations."

In the absence of Lieutenant Colonel William M. Robinson, Jr., the discussion leader of the two papers on Confederate military history, his comments were read by Professor O. C. Skipper of The Citadel. Colonel Robinson observed that Professor Dyer "had apparently put his finger upon one of the outstanding failures of the Confederacy." While admitting General Bragg's weaknesses, Colonel Robinson "hesitated to ascribe to him a want of understanding of the principles of strategy or of the technique and tactics of the cavalry arm." To understand why Bragg failed to use his cavalry in its various normal missions "would require one, in all fairness, to retrace in detail the general procedure that every commander or his staff follows in making the estimate of the situation upon which he predicates his decision. Whether and how to attack or to defend is a question whose answer requires a wealth of information, both of our own and the enemy's forces. . . . If we knew the staff reports, oral as well as written, which were before Bragg, Johnston, Hood, and other commanders in question, we might be inclined to revise our conclusions." Whether "a decision was wise or not ought to be tested by the information before the commander and/or by his use of the means at his disposal for obtaining the requisite information." The tale of Semmes' cruise in the *Sumter*, Colonel Robinson said, has reasonably been told by Roberts in his *Semmes of the Alabama* and by Dalzell in his very recent book, *Flight*

from the Flag. Professor Summersell's proposal of a thorough study of the arguments raised by Semmes in his quasi-diplomatic exchanges with the authorities of the various ports at which he touched should be of "high interest and fascination," especially to the student of international affairs.

Professor Kent Roberts Greenfield of Johns Hopkins University presented a paper to the European session on "The Mediterranean, 1815-1940." "This region," Professor Greenfield said, "was the matrix of our civilization, mother of its cosmopolitanism, its city life, its ideal of central authority." Having played a determining role in the history of Europe for a thousand years, it lost that role when the oceans were opened. "It has been restored to importance by a revolution that took effect in the nineteenth century." Two forces went into that revolution: "the revival of the Mediterranean route to the East and the awakening of the Mediterranean nations," especially Italy. "The Mediterranean has now been westernized," Professor Greenfield observed. "It is being unified by the civilization that originally issued from it. But this civilization is now in a high-power phase. The history of the region as a part of Europe raises the question what traits of western civilization the influence of this ancient region will intensify."

Professor Lynn M. Case of Louisiana State University, who led the discussion of Professor Greenfield's paper, thought the paper was very valuable for its emphasis on the Mediterranean as a unit and the various cycles through which it has passed. He detected a tendency toward the cyclical and economic interpretations of history. The paper "might be criticized for its use of the term 'western,' for its attribution of the Dark Ages to the Moslems, and for its belief that the Mediterranean contributes urban and centralizing influences to the West in general." Doubt was expressed whether the Mediterranean countries have become "very much more industrialized as a result of the Industrial Revolution."

At Friday noon the Association held its annual business session at a luncheon conference in the Terrace Dining Room of the Fort Sumter Hotel. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor James W. Pat-

ton of Converse College, showed that the finances of the Association are in good condition and that there had been a substantial increase in the total membership of the Association. The committee reports were brief and perfunctory. The session closed with the election of officers for 1941 as presented by the Committee on Nominations.

Friday afternoon was given over to sight-seeing. This proved to be a very popular departure from the usual type of program. The Committee on Local Arrangements had planned three tours: (1) to points of historical interest within the city of Charleston; (2) to Fort Sumter; and (3) to plantations on the Ashley River. Conveyance was furnished and the tours began at half-past two from the Fort Sumter Hotel. All of the tours proved to be highly entertaining and instructive. Enthusiastic commendations were heard on all sides.

At eight o'clock the Association assembled in the Student Activities Building of the College of Charleston for its annual dinner, which was complimentary through the courtesy of the College of Charleston and the Charleston Historical Commission. Dr. Harrison Randolph, president of the College of Charleston, presided. Professor Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University delivered the presidential address on the "Fundamental Cause of the Civil War." The war was caused, Professor Owsley said, "not by the desire of the South to destroy free government or the North to preserve it, for both sections were devoted to the democratic ideology. The war was caused by egocentric sectionalism, that is by that type of sectionalism which was characterized by the attitude on the part of the dominant section that it was not a section but the whole United States, and which caused the dominant section to disregard the attitudes and interests of the minority section." Egocentric sectionalism manifested itself in three ways: first, the habit by the dominant section of considering itself the nation, its people the American people, and its interests the national interests; second, the attempt of the majority section to undermine the power and prestige of the minority section; and third and most dangerous, the failure to observe the "comity of sections." "That is," Professor Owsley said, "the people in one section failed in their language and conduct to respect the dig-

nity and self-respect of the people in the other section. The comity of sections was first violated by the political leaders of the North, particularly those of New England origin, during the Missouri Controversy, when they denounced not only slavery, but the slaveholder and southern society in general in harsh language. The attack upon the moral integrity of the southern people was continued in the abolition crusade, the language of which was violent, insulting, and frequently obscene." Not until the abolition crusade began did the South reply to this abuse. Their mutual abuse grew apace and persisted until sectional ill will and animosity became practically universal. A war psychosis attitude of mind evolved which made war almost inevitable.

On Saturday morning, November 9, at ten o'clock there was a "Round Table on Reconstruction." The "Revisionists' View" was discussed in brief papers by Professors Robert H. Woody of Duke University and Francis B. Simkins of State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia. Professor Woody pointed out that the older histories of Reconstruction written under the influence of the Dunning and Johns Hopkins schools met "a cordial reception"; that no reviewer in the *American Historical Review* found any serious fault with them because of the authors' racial prejudice or economic predilections. In recent years, however, a considerable "revisionist" literature has appeared, the most extreme writer being Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the distinguished Negro scholar. Dr. Du Bois regards the writings of distinguished authors like Fleming and Phillips "openly and blatantly pure propaganda" to discredit the Negro and demonstrate the supremacy of the white man. The controversy, Professor Woody said, revolves around the "attitudes toward race questions," linked with which is the "whole problem of social classes and their economic interests and the responsibility for the failures of Reconstruction." "One difficulty the revisionists will face is the fact that the pattern of Reconstruction as exhibited by many able scholars is so well fixed in American historiography as to be susceptible of challenge only by an abundance of substantial evidence. Thus the burden of proof is on the revisionists, and they themselves will be liable to revision."

Professor Simkins declared that the willingness of a group of Southern scholars to reopen the seemingly closed issues of Reconstruction is a happy augury. He suggested certain lines of study: (1) a recognition of the fact that because Reconstruction defied the southern concept of caste it was condemned before trial; (2) a realization that it is not necessary for the scholar to accept the traditional opinion that the Negro is innately inferior to the white man; and (3) a conception that the reform proposals of the Reconstructionists were "not un-American or excessive and dovetailed with the demands of the Negroes themselves." He contended that "the aspirations of the blacks were along lines of advance which had to be followed if they were to progress and that all revolutionary violence was not on their side. The whites effected a counterrevolution which took reforms from the blacks." The paper closed with a listing of the nonpolitical phases of Reconstruction which were permanently constructive: educational, religious, agricultural, and industrial reforms.

Dean C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College and Professor Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, discussed what revisions they would make, if any, of their books on Reconstruction. Miss Thompson said if she were rewriting her *Reconstruction in Georgia* she would change the time limit; instead of stopping with the year 1872 she would probably carry the study down to 1890. It is difficult to find a satisfactory date to bring Reconstruction history to a close, she said, because the economic and social influences have not yet ended. In any attempted revision of her book she would delve more into economic and social materials and their implications. She would study more closely the growth of towns and the importance of the town classes; the mobility of population and its influences; race relations of "the more common sort than those made critical by the Ku Klux"; religion and the social activities of churches with the growth of urban life; and, "most of all," she "would want to know more about the part of the Negroes themselves in securing and maintaining their freedom." Dean Thompson expressed the opinion that the "time has passed for utilization of the state unit for further inquiry

into reconstruction problems. . . . 'The study by states has served its purpose, and served it well, on the whole.'" The need today is "to examine various problems and forces of development. . . in cross-sections through the South as a whole." The study of such problems as she listed "should be made in the various geographical regions of the South."

Professor Kendrick would not make any material alterations in his *Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction*, if he were writing it again. The histories of Reconstruction in the various states, he thought, were on the whole scholarly and sound, though he did not express dissent from Dean Thompson's view that the various monographs might well have been extended over a longer period with special emphasis on social and economic changes and their implications. Significantly, he pointed out that Conkling's contention that the Joint Committee in drafting the Fourteenth Amendment used the word "person" covertly to protect corporations as well as Negroes is not well supported by fact. It was even inconsistent with Conkling's own vote on the amendment. Professor Ella Lonn of Goucher College in an informal discussion effectively defended the fine work that has been done on Reconstruction in the various states.

Concurrently with the session on Reconstruction the European group held a session on "Twentieth Century Diplomacy." Two papers were presented: one by Professor William C. Askew of the University of Arkansas on "European Crises, 1908-1914, As They Appeared to American Diplomats"; and the other, "Anglo-French Relations in Connection with the Present War," by Professor Joseph J. Mathews of the University of Mississippi.

The purposes of Professor Askew's paper, as he stated them, were to describe in more detail than has yet been done the reaction of the people of the United States to European quarrels just prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, and to point out a vast amount of source material as yet almost untouched. The paper, he said, was based almost entirely on State Department documents recently made available. These documents "are especially valuable for the analyses of European pub-

lic opinion which they contain and the emphasis they place on the economic factors in European diplomacy." In discussing Professor Askew's paper Professor Earl F. Cruickshank of Vanderbilt University suggested the further possibility of research in British Embassy and Legation archives in the western hemisphere. He said it would be easy to exaggerate the significance of the revelations of the American dispatches. He believed Professor Askew had overstated the case by saying that the American State Department followed the European crisis with keen interest and that American diplomats were in a splendid position to obtain accurate information "because of their neutral position and the confidence which this position inspired among European diplomats." In support of his contention, Professor Cruickshank offered the following explanations: (1) prior to the World War relatively few Americans, themselves, professed knowledge of or interest in foreign affairs; (2) the traditional American policy was one of aloofness from Europe's embroilments; (3) there was mutual distrust between Europe and America; and (4) the lack of professional diplomatic training of most of the personnel of American diplomacy was something of a handicap.

Professor Mathews' paper began with a brief discussion of Anglo-French relations at the outbreak of the war and ended with the French defeat in June, 1940. The co-operation of the two countries was analyzed under three headings—military, economic, and psychological. Professor Mathews regards the joint Franco-British economic measures and the forces favoring some form of permanent union for the alliance as the most significant features of the co-operative movement. The relationships of the United States to the economic alliance were also treated "in the belief that some of the policies of the alliance are thereby clarified."

Professor Rhea Smith of Rollins College discussed Professor Mathews' paper. He commended the paper for its cautious use of materials and for avoiding the pitfalls of hypotheses in the treatment of the recent Anglo-French accord. He suggested the probability that both England and France followed an opportunist policy of avoiding war

because they were defending the status quo. They both wanted to avoid war and "check the spread of Communism by keeping Germany and Japan as buffer states against Russia." Professor Mathews, he thought, should have considered more the hysterical element. "Historians," he said, "must descend from their ivory tower of complete objectivity and record what they feel or what popular opinion feels about the events that occur in a period," otherwise they "may not be sufficiently realistic to give a complete picture of events."

The last meeting of the Association was a luncheon conference in the Main Dining Room of the Francis Marion Hotel. A paper by Messrs. Edwin A. Davis and William R. Hogan of Louisiana State University on "A Natchez Entrepreneur and Sportsman: William T. Johnson, Free Man of Color" was presented by Professor Davis. Using as primary sources Johnson's accounts, correspondence, and eleven-volume business and personal diary, the paper discussed the life and attitudes of a Natchez free Negro in the 1830's and 1840's. Johnson rose from a lowly beginning as a barber to a position of modest affluence as the owner of three barber shops, a twelve-room house and other city property, a plantation, and eight slaves. The diarist was unreservedly interested in the daily round of activities and participated in many of them; he hunted, fished, drank good liquors, gambled, attended horse races regularly, witnessed theatrical performances, bought books and music, and subscribed to periodicals. His own words were, "I am always ready for anything." Johnson achieved a status approaching economic equality with whites and gave a sympathetic view of the attitude of his group toward the anti-free Negro feeling that developed after 1840 in Mississippi. In addition to presenting ample evidence that the free Negro population in the state existed in varying economic circumstances and maintained distinct social levels within the group, the Johnson diary also illuminates the Natchez social scene, particularly in more than two dozen racy and detailed accounts of fights among white men that emphasize the persistence of the frontier temper in the river town.

Annual Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

BY JAMES W. PATTON

Throughout the year 1940 there has been a continuation of that prosperity which has marked the Association's business relations since the date of its organization. There has been an increase in the membership virtually equaling the handsome growth experienced in 1939, and the financial balance sheet again reveals a large surplus.

The Secretary would be remiss if he did not at this time call attention to the extent to which these favorable conditions are due to the efforts of his predecessor, Fletcher M. Green. Only one familiar with the records of this office can fully appreciate the amount of labor and diligent care expended by Professor Green in the interest of the Association during its formative years. The groundwork which he laid has served to make the task of the present Secretary immeasurably lighter.

The thanks of the Association are also due to the various committees, and especially to the respective chairmen: Professors A. B. Moore and Ross H. McLean of the Program Committee; Professors J. H. Easterby and O. C. Skipper of the Local Arrangements Committee; and Professor Hugh T. Lefler of the Membership Committee. All of these have rendered faithful and efficient service, and without their co-operation the successful character of the year's work would have been less easily attained.

The *Journal of Southern History*, continuing under the capable editorship of Professor Wendell H. Stephenson and the generous sponsorship of the Louisiana State University, has maintained and increased the high prestige which it has already established among periodicals of its type, not only in the South but in the nation as a whole. This latter fact has been demonstrated during the year by the securing of a

number of new subscriptions from college and university libraries in the East, the Middle West, and even the Far West, several of which have purchased complete files of all back issues.

The Association was invited to hold a joint session with the American Historical Association at the latter's annual meeting in Washington, December 28-30, 1939. On this occasion papers were read by Professor R. S. Cotterill on "Southern Nationalism on the Eve of Secession: A Product of External or Internal Forces?" and by Professor Paul H. Buck on "The Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the South." A similar invitation was extended by the American Historical Association in connection with its 1940 annual meeting in New York City, December 27-30; and a panel discussion on "The Southern 'Demagogue'" was arranged, with Professors Dan M. Robison, Roger W. Shugg, Francis B. Simkins, H. Clarence Nixon, and Thomas D. Clark participating.

At a meeting of the Executive Council held in Washington, December 30, 1939, the President of the Association was requested "to add to the program committee for 1940 some person who teaches history outside the field taken as the main objective of the Association," with the understanding that such person "be instructed to schedule a maximum of two sessions on history other than southern history at the annual meeting to be held in 1940." Professor Ross H. McLean was subsequently selected for this task and was responsible for arranging the two sessions on European history which appeared on the 1940 program.

At the above-mentioned meeting of the Executive Council, the Treasurer was authorized to invest the surplus funds of the Association in United States Savings Bonds. After \$5,250 had been thus invested, the United States Treasury Department discontinued its policy of issuing Savings Bonds to corporations, partnerships, and associations; but it is understood that this ruling does not in any way affect the status of such bonds as were purchased before the ruling was made.

At a meeting of the Council held in Charleston, South Carolina, November 7, 1940, Professors Paul H. Buck of Harvard University and

Ella Lonn of Goucher College were elected to the Board of Editors of the *Journal of Southern History*, replacing Professors Charles W. Ramsdell and Philip Davidson whose terms expired with the current year. The Council also voted to assume on the part of the Association the cost of preparing and printing the title page and index for the *Journal of Southern History* and the cost of furnishing reprints of articles to their respective authors, the annual cost of the index and title page to be approximately \$100 and that of the reprints approximately \$300. In view of the continued growth in membership, it was decided to increase the number of copies of each issue of the *Journal* printed from 1,200 to 1,350. An invitation presented by Emory University and Agnes Scott College to hold the 1941 annual meeting of the Association in Atlanta was accepted, the exact date to be set later.

Professor Stephenson suggested that the Managing Editor of the *Journal of Southern History* should be elected for a definite period rather than indefinitely as at present. This suggestion was not adopted, but it was moved and carried that the Council might give thought to the matter and that it be placed on the agenda for next year's meeting. A committee was appointed to frame a suitable resolution informing Professor Stephenson of the Council's action. The resolution was as follows:

While the council recognizes the importance of Dr. Stephenson's suggestion and has designated it as a matter for discussion at next year's meeting, it must accept this occasion as an opportunity to express its complete confidence in and satisfaction with the present editor and his policies. The *Journal* has been ably edited from the beginning. It has achieved high standing among scholarly periodicals in a surprisingly short time. We hope it may long enjoy the benefits of the present editor's direction.

The Association in annual business session at Charleston, South Carolina, on November 8, 1940, elected the following officers for 1941: president, Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; vice-president, A. B. Moore of the University of Alabama; secretary-treasurer, James W. Patton of Converse College; Executive Council members, O. C. Skipper of The Citadel and William M. Robinson, Jr., of Portsmouth, Virginia.

On December 31, 1939, the Secretary reported 864 active members of the Association. Since that time one active member has been transferred to the exchange list, 22 have resigned, 26 have been dropped for nonpayment of dues, and 4—John C. Howard of Dunedin, Florida, T. J. Skinner of Bessemer, Alabama, Jesse T. Wallace of Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi, and Charles L. Worthington of Charlottesville, Virginia—have been removed by death. One hundred and seventy new members have been added during the year and 2 members previously dropped have been restored to their affiliation. This yields a net gain of 119 for the year and a total of 983 active members, 5 of whom are life members. In addition there are 72 exchanges, making a grand total of 1,055. Of the active members, however, 69 are still in arrears for 1940 dues, despite the fact that each one has been sent three separate notices.

The membership continues to be widely diffused geographically, with active members in 41 states, the District of Columbia, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Spain, and Puerto Rico. Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia have above 10 members each: North Carolina, 93; Georgia, 69; Virginia, 69; Louisiana, 65; Florida, 64; Alabama, 60; Tennessee, 59; South Carolina, 55; Mississippi, 49; Texas, 47; District of Columbia, 44; Kentucky, 43; New York, 37; Illinois, 22; Pennsylvania, 21; Maryland, 19; Massachusetts, 17; Oklahoma, 17; Arkansas, 16; Ohio, 16; California, 12; Missouri, 12; and Indiana, 11. Active members ranging from 1 to 10 in number are to be found in all except 7 other states; and if we add the exchange members there remain only 2 states in the Union where the *Journal of Southern History* apparently does not circulate—Maine and Nevada.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

DECEMBER 31, 1940

Cash balance, January 1, 1940	\$6,117.67
RECEIPTS: January 1 to December 31, 1940:	
Annual dues collected	\$2,582.03
Sale of extra copies and back files, the <i>Journal of</i> <i>Southern History</i>	197.00
Life membership	50.00

Profits from annual meeting	109.00	
Interest on time deposit	10.00	
Interest on Savings Bonds	70.00	
		<hr/>
Total receipts		\$3,018.03
		<hr/>
Total to be accounted for		\$9,135.70

DISBURSEMENTS: January 1 to December 31, 1940:

Printing February and May issues, the <i>Journal of Southern History</i>	\$1,185.00	
Printing application blanks, statements, receipts, materials for membership committee, etc.	69.90	
Stationery	44.00	
Office supplies	31.20	
Mimeographing	34.00	
Printing and mailing programs	62.74	
Membership committee expenses	18.57	
Telegrams	1.00	
Express	2.83	
Bad check returned	3.50	
Exchange on checks	3.43	
Refunds on overpaid accounts	13.70	
Postage	82.37	
		<hr/>
Total disbursements		\$1,552.24
		<hr/>
Balance, December 31, 1940		\$7,583.46

ANALYSIS OF BALANCE

INVESTMENTS:

7 U. S. Savings Bonds at \$750.00	\$5,250.00	
Interest accrued, 1940	70.00	
		<hr/>
Total investments	\$5,320.00	
Time deposit, Commercial National Bank, Spartanburg, South Carolina	1,000.00	
Checking account, Commercial National Bank, Spartanburg, South Carolina	1,263.46	
		<hr/>
Total		\$7,583.46

Notes and Documents

"SYSTEM OF FARMING AT BEAVER BEND," ALABAMA, 1862

EDITED BY WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN

Following the example of many others living in the seaboard region of the Upper South during the period immediately after the American Revolution, the Stephen Davis family of Hanover County, Virginia, moved westward to take up some of the cheap land which became available at the close of the war.¹ By the year 1787 Davis had established a home near Lexington in Fayette County, which was shortly to become a part of the state of Kentucky. Thirty years later, in 1817, his son, Nathaniel B. Davis, left Kentucky to take part in another migration which at the time had become general. The second Davis moved to the Deep South and settled seventeen miles northwest of Huntsville, in Limestone County, Alabama. From this point several of his children in turn moved into various sections of the state. One of his sons, Hugh Davis, went to the town of Marion, Perry County, where he began practicing law in the early 1830's. He maintained his residence in the county until his death on June 6, 1862.²

As was often the case with well-established lawyers in the South during his period, Hugh Davis mixed his profession with the business of operating a plantation. In acquiring land he used his position as a lawyer to take advantage of the many unsuccessful land ventures that

¹ A southern grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council made possible the editing of this document. It is a result of a general study of pre-Civil War plantation practices in the Alabama black belt which the editor has in progress.

² Information on the migrations of the Davis family has been furnished by Mrs. L. I. Davis of Marion, Alabama. Some is also available in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 11, 1905.

had been attempted by earlier settlers in Perry County. His first purchase was made in May, 1839, and by April, 1847, he had bought up 1,270 acres of farm land which in most cases had been offered for taxes.³ With this land he began his activities as a planter, and for the rest of his life he gradually evolved a "System" which he practiced in the operation of his plantation. His place was located about ten miles southeast of Marion, and acquired its name, "Beaver Bend," from the point on the Cahaba River at which it was located.

The "System," as included here, may probably be considered as typical of the more enlightened methods, economic as well as social, followed by many pre-Civil War planters in the Deep South.⁴ Since it was written down very shortly before Davis' death, it may also be accepted as the result of fifteen years' successful experience as a planter. At his death Davis owned the following property: 5,138 acres of farm land, and 11 lots in Marion;⁵ 78 slaves, valued at \$63,965; stock, appraised at \$5,152;⁶ farm equipment, \$1,771; farm produce on hand, \$14,524;⁷ household goods, including a library of 631 volumes, \$2,379.25; and notes outstanding, \$2,947.32⁸ It was to maintain this property that he drew up his "System."

³ Perry County, Alabama, Deed Record (Office of Probate Court, courthouse, Marion), F, 110, 477, 513, 560, 623; G, 78, 82, 588; H, 296.

⁴ Descriptions of plantation practices similar in some respects to those of Davis are included in Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918); Ralph B. Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (New York, 1933); Charles S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933); and Charles S. Davis, *The Cotton Kingdom in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1939). It is probable, however, that few collections of rules for the operation of ante-bellum southern plantations exist which are as succinct as those written down by Davis.

⁵ These figures have been obtained by deducting the amount of land sold from that bought by Davis from May 25, 1839, until his death. Perry County, Deed Record, E, 22, 261, 263; F, 110, 264, 265, 405, 447, 513, 559, 560, 623; G, 27, 78, 82, 496, 513, 556, 559, 588, 631, 676, 732, 761; H, 191, 296, 413, 414, 416, 439, 505, 603, 613, 618; I, 20, 137, 143, 203, 340, 444, 460, 498, 550, 596, 618; K, 199, 453, 474; L, 415; M, 28; N, 245, 246, 539; O, 137, 160, 266.

⁶ Davis' stock included mules, horses, hogs, cows, bulls, oxen, sheep, and goats. Perry County, Inventory of Estates (Office of Probate Court, courthouse, Marion), I, 928-35.

⁷ Farm produce on hand consisted of cotton, corn, fodder, rice, peas, potatoes, salt pork, salt, linseed oil, and rough wool. *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* The appraisal of Davis' estate was made on January 12, 1863.

SYSTEM OF FARMING AT BEAVER BEND
ITS PRINCIPLES, ITS RULES AND ITS REGULATIONS⁹

The principles concern the proprietor alone

The rules concern the proprietor & his manager or substitute

The regulations concern the employer the manager or overseer and the hands on the place

First. The "principle" is that the plantation must be governed by a code of love suited to the patriarchal rather than the civil The employer having the first rank, the overseer the second, and third and last the negroes according to their intelligence and fidelity

Second. The first in rank lays down the principles the rules and the regulations.

The second in rank is to keep all the rules and enforce them on the place and see that the regulations are carried out. Third the negroes [*sic*] are to perform the work well under the overseer and behave themselves with good manners and strict discipline

The object of the proprietor is to buy neither bread nor meat nor any thing that can be made on the place—to require there shall be made on the place the articles following: all plow stocks, ax handles, hoe helves, harnes[s], horse collars, leading lines, and well ropes. Beside such articles as are usually wanted and made at a plantation work shop and blacksmith shop.

It is also the proprietors object to make and save the largest possible quantity of manure with which to feed the plants, such as corn, cotton small grain and garden vegetables and to this end the horse lot the cow pen, the sheep pound an[d] hog styles must be carefully saved up and stowed away without loss

It is also the purpose of the proprietor, to plant cultivate and gather a corn crop sufficient for the wants of the plantation—say plant half as much the land in cotton with also oats—one acre to each horse and mule besides peas etc. etc

Again, it is another principle in my system to plant and raise vegetables in sufficient quantities to supply the hands three times every day—to sow half an acre of wheat to the hand and three acres for the family in gardens

It is my purpose moreover to plant and cultivate a cotton crop which shall yield every good season one 500 lbs. bale to every one acre and a half planted and to cultivate twelve acres to the hand average

It is also my plan to keep all my stock under fence—in pastures such as wood lands, grass and small grain, and to be fed at night with cotton seed, hay etc

⁹ Farm Book Entries on Hugh Davis Plantation, June 1, 1862-October 17, 1866, pp. 1-9 (in possession of Mrs. L. I. Davis). Two editorial liberties have been taken. Roman type has been substituted for italic capital letters for the subheads included in the "System"; and italics have been uniformly used for the numerical beginnings of the various paragraphs.

In order to avoid the charge of a want of notice on the part of all concerned these principles, rules and regulations are required to be read at the commencement of, and every subsequent three months during the year and as often as any body shall require it

In order to remember past transactions of the farm a daily record shall be made in short stating the things most worthy to be recorded—how much well or ill done, all increase, all lost with the causes and manner, the quantities harvested, the prices sold for and the interest on capital, as near as may be the contents of the place in acres, and by whom measured, and the production as compared with former years

It is required that in all plowing before planting the ground shall be broken up as deep as your teams will allow and all plowing after seeds are planted shall be quite light, perhaps the first plowing of corn excepted

It is advisable to push hands and teams fast in the early part of the season, say till first June after which call off two hours free from labor at noon.

From 1st May till 1st Oct. the negro quarters must be cleaned up, white-washed and scoured: and at all seasons the negroes must appear on Sunday morning with clean clothes on for the next week

The hog feeder is expected to do his full duty in respect to food raw and cooked; to count often and report faithfully the number of hogs, sows & pigs, and the same rule will apply to the stock feeder

In all matters not specially provided for sound reason and common sence [*sic*] may be called in as guides, but the practice on other plantations will only lead astray where these guides are rejected

The following rules are established for the guidance of the overseer.

DUTY

First The overseer is expected to use his best skill and ability to accomplish the purposes of the employer in order to which he should study well the Principles, Rules, and Regulations in force on the place, so as to understand and believe in them to which end they are recorded in the farm books.

LOCKS

Second It is his duty and he is expected to lock up all houses wherein stock and provisions are kept and in which tools are kept, and to keep the keys from any and all negroes and to give no privileges to one over another nor any authority to one over another

LITTLE MATTERS

Third Again it is his duty and his employers interest to see that all things of value to the master shall be preserved scrupulously and kept under his own attention;—Such as meal-Bags, Spinning cotton, extra tools not in use, iron,

coal, peas, rice, broom corn, wagon gear, cotton sacks, etc. etc. which negroes too often desire to have charge of, and overseers to[o] negligently assent to. My maxim being an agent may give liberally of his, but should be stingy with what belongs to his employers

PUNISHMENT

Fourth It is my rule that all discipline and punishment should be enforced by the overseer himself and not by or through his leaders; and shall be inflicted by a broad leathern flail or strap and not by whips, switches or cow-hides and all punishment should be administered for the purpose of humane discipline and free from passion

PROTECTION TO NEGROES

Fifth Fully acknowledging responsibilities of the Masters not only for wholesome discipline but a merciful protection to those whom [sic] the laws of God and man have placed under his, my charge; it is allowed and can not be denied, and would not be denied except for purposes of cruelty and deception, that each and every slave shall communicate to the master all things proper to be known, in the masters judgment, especially such as have reference to his food and its supply, his clothing, or the deficiency thereof, his punishment, the quantity an[d] cause thereof, the existence of any known immorality and the parties engaged in it etc.—he (said slave) being responsible for any false communications according to the Masters judgment

DISSOLUTION

Sixth It is my rule that contracts with overseers are mutually entered into for the interest of both and cand [sic] be determined by either party at his own option after which the relations and contract between the parties cease and the wages to that time shall be due the 1st. January following

SICKNESS

Seventh The manager or overseer is required to report all sick persons at an early time and see that they be attended to during their sickness and is expected to be able to determine sickness from health by the usual signs as indicated by the skin, the tongue, the pulse etc. etc.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Eighth The employers and overseer or manager are entitled to the freest interchange of opinion, each is invited to ask all questions that concern the Principles, Rules & Regulations and their fulfillment by both employer and overseer and hands; and all concealment will be regarded as proceeding from neglect or other cause not as commendable Any person understanding this system, and consenting to be bound by it who knowingly and intentionally violate[s] the rules or regulations will be regarded as dissatisfied with his

place and is expected to resign his contract and repetition of the violation of any rule or regulation will be regarded as intentional

LIGHTS

Ninth It is further prescribed, that no lights, fire or lamps shall be carried within the gin-house cornhouse or other place so liable to take fire and in case a lantern is necessary in the stable or stalls it may only be used in the hands of the overseer and not in the hands of any negro—

LOST TIME

Tenth It is moreover proper and right that all loss of time or absence from the owner's business either from sickness or other causes whereby the employer has to get other help or sustain inconvenience therefrom is to be borne by the party while sick or being absent

REPAIRS

Eleventh It is also directed that all repairs of tools, fences, ditches, houses, roads and farm implements should be made at early convenience and not allowed . . . to remain out of condition till the time when wanted for use. My Maxim is that the wear and tear, and breakage of tools of every day must be mended before the next day

ORDER

Twelfth It is expected that all things valuable should have a proper place and should alway[s] be in that place—such as wagons and wagon bodies in their shelters, gear in their houses, plows in their rooms, hoes in the rack, axes in each negro's house or in the overseers keeping, and provisions of every kind under dry roofs, for it seems bad to the Masters eye to behold hoes & plows scattered over the fields; gear left out at night and hame strings tied while the hands ride home

PESTS

Thirteenth It is also expected after laying by the crop the overseer will . . . attend to and destroy such troublesome growths as come up and mature before frost; such as chicken corn, sheep burrs, morning glories and such like

Regulations prescribed by the employer, to wit:

EQUALITY

First No negro shall have authority over the others or to whip them.

TRADE

Second No negro shall have permission to trade, buying or selling to and from other negroes residing off the place nor shall they make purchases of white people except by written orders, mentioning the things to be bought or

sold and all things bought and brought to the place must be exhibited to the overseer or master and for every offense against this rule the offender shall receive twenty stripe[s] from the master or overseer

CROPS

Third No negro shall have any crop nor work at night except by permission of the overseer or master This has reference to night work and not to a crop

DEBTS

Fourth All claims by way of debts among the negroes are strictly forbidden and the overseer is not to enforce them, and any such claim resulting in a quarrel or fight will be strictly punished

RISINGS

Fifth The over seer will blow his horn on call on all hands at day light to rise and prepare for work

FEEDING

Sixth Next the feeding of all the Stock should be done as quick as possible and in well cleaned troughs under the eyes of the overseer so far as the horses and mules are concerned—when the hands will repair to their several places of work under the watch of the overseer who will see if there be any strag[g]lers and also see that a start for a good days work be had

WATERING

Seventh The overseer is expected to see that the water trough be quite full every night when the water drawers quit

EIGHTH

Eighth In attending to all other stock he is required two nights in each week to be present at their troughs examine their food, inquire as to their condition, their number, where they are kept at pasture,—to take one hour each day after breakfast examining their condition, their number and place of pasture and supplies of food, correcting any errors or deficiencies that may be in his power. Attention to this will be praiseworthy neglect blame worthy and the overseer will take great pains to ascertain which is due

NIGHT WORK

Ninth The men alone are required to feed and perform all lot work at the close of every day. The women are required, when the field work is done, to go directly to their houses and engage in sweeping, fetching water for their families, receiving their suppers from the meal carriers to be sent by the cook after which they may sew, knit or patch but in no event to leave their houses or yard or go visiting

CORN SHELLING

Tenth On corn shelling night the women will assist in shucking the corn and carry the shucks to the cow house—all shucking together and all carrying together

FOOD

Eleventh All meals are to be carried by the cook and food carriers to the hands where they work at breakfast [and] dinner and at supper to be carried to their houses by the food carriers—in every one's own vessel and no hand, man or woman, is to stay at the cook shelter except the cook and suckling women engaged with their babies.

SLEEP

Twelfth All hands are required to retire to their rooms for rest at nine o'clock P. M. or as soon as a horn or other signal calls off and should any hand be missing five minutes after and should not answer the call of the overseer or any leader he may direct any one so missing shall receive twenty stripes—and any negro falling to sleep in the open air or any out house shall receive twenty stripes

LEADERS

Thirteenth The overseer is expected to have and name as many leaders as there are divisions of work, who will be required to superintend his squad in the absence of the overseer and report the conduct of all under him—and to be responsible for the truth and accuracy of his reports These names may be uttered at the direction of the employer as also the hands of which a squad may be composed—especially as to plough men and hoe hands

TOMORROWS ORDERS

Fourteen Every leader or head man is to appear before the overseer at his house, before the horn blows for calling off, to report for his squad, and receive orders for the next day—all such reports must be strictly tested as to accuracy by after examining when not known at the time to be correct

COOK

Fifteenth The plantation cook under the supervision and orders of the overseer, to cook for himself and the plantation hands, having their breakfast at or before one hour by sun in the morning—dinner at or before noon—supper at or before sun down—and at all times quickly shared out to the different hands and delivered to the food carriers one of which she is to be when necessary

BABIES

Sixteenth Every suckling woman is regarded as half a hand and is to be allowed three quarters of an hour to attend to her baby besides the time for going and coming and shall be kept at work nearer than half a mile

MEALS

Seventeenth—All bread corn must be ground at home and must be carefully measured or weighed—

TEAMSTERS

18th Every wagoner, ploughman or other hand having charge of a team must account for all accidents or loosage which occurs while with him unless he calls attention before he starts or bring some writing whereby it occurred—damage penalty from 10 to 39 stripes

PASSES

19th No hand is to be absent from the place without a . . . written pass and no pass shall be given to send away any negro at night except on the masters business and with his consent

IMMORALITY

20th All cursing, quarrelling, fighting and all violations of the right of husband and wife and such other immorality will meet with chastisement From 10 to 50 stripes is the general measure of punishment for stated offenses according to their grade

REPUBLICAN FACTIONALISM IN MISSISSIPPI, 1882-1884

EDITED BY (MISS) WILLIE D. HALSELL

The feud that had existed between factions in the Republican party in Mississippi since Reconstruction days flared into an open fight in 1882. One wing of the party, composed largely of Negroes, was led by three mulattoes—John R. Lynch,¹ James Hill,² and Blanche K.

¹ John R. Lynch was born a slave in Louisiana, September 10, 1847. From 1869 to 1873 he was a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives, serving as speaker during his last term. A member of the lower house of Congress during Grant's second administration, he was defeated for re-election in 1876. He contested James R. Chalmers' seat in the Forty-seventh Congress, and won, but was not returned to the succeeding Congress. Lynch served as a delegate to National Republican conventions in 1872, 1884, 1888, 1892, and 1900, and as temporary chairman of the National Convention in 1884. For eight years, from 1881 to 1889, he was chairman of the Republican Committee of Mississippi. After he left Mississippi, Lynch was appointed fourth auditor of the Treasury Department. Then he became interested in law, took the bar examination in Mississippi, and practiced in Washington after 1896. He served as paymaster during the Spanish-American War and after, finally being promoted to the rank of major in 1906. Because of his age he was retired in 1911. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 1246.

² James Hill was born in Mississippi and attended common school after the war. He

Bruce;³ the other faction, made up chiefly of white Republicans, was led by General George C. McKee.⁴ The Negro wing had for years controlled the party machinery in Mississippi,⁵ it had decided Republican nominations, and its members had enjoyed the Federal patronage in the state. By 1882, however, the white Republicans could stand the situation no longer, and they revolted against Negro domination.⁶ The fight for control of the party now became open and bitter.

Reinforcements for the white Republicans appeared when General James R. Chalmers,⁷ Democratic congressman, withdrew from the Democratic party in May, 1882. Dissatisfied with the leadership of

held various offices in the Mississippi legislature, and was secretary of state from 1873 to 1877. During Hayes' administration he was appointed collector of internal revenue in Mississippi which position he held until displaced by Democrats after the election of 1884. Hill was a leader in the Mississippi Republican organization, and served as a member of the Republican National Committee. From 1891 to 1893 he was postmaster at Vicksburg. *Who's Who in America . . . 1899-1900* (Chicago, 1899), 336.

³ Blanche K. Bruce, after attending Oberlin College, moved to Mississippi in 1868 and engaged in planting. Entering politics as sergeant-at-arms of the Mississippi Senate in 1870, he soon became tax assessor and then sheriff of Bolivar County. In 1875 he went to Washington as senator from Mississippi, and soon after his term expired he was appointed register of the Treasury, serving in that capacity 1881-1885 and 1895-1898. Carter G. Woodson, "Blanche K. Bruce," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), III, 180-81.

⁴ McKee was born in Illinois in 1837. He attended Knox and Lombard colleges, after which he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1858. He began practicing law in Centralia, Illinois, where he became city attorney. After the war began he entered the army as a private; when the war ended, he was a brigadier general. He resumed his law practice in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and also had planting interests in Hinds County. McKee was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868, served as congressman from 1869 to 1875, and was postmaster in Jackson from 1881 to 1885. He died in 1890. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1266.

⁵ A description of the Negro combination in action may be found in John R. Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1913).

⁶ *Jackson Weekly Clarion*, March 15, 1882.

⁷ James R. Chalmers, a Virginian by birth, was educated at South Carolina College. Moving to Mississippi he practiced law at Holly Springs and served as district attorney from 1858 to 1861. Chalmers was a member of the Mississippi Secession Convention, and was appointed to the committee on military affairs. Fort Pillow was the scene of his most celebrated military exploit. The war over, he returned to his law practice and to politics. He was elected state senator and then congressman. In 1881-1882 Lynch contested and won his seat, upon which Chalmers left the Democratic party and ran for Congress on the Independent ticket. After a contest with Vannoy R. Manning he was finally seated. He later retired to practice law in Memphis, Tennessee. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedia Form*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1907), I, 390-91.

Senator L. Q. C. Lamar, chagrined at the loss of his contested seat to John R. Lynch, and angered at the state legislature's congressional re-districting which he thought directed against him, Chalmers transferred his legal residence to the congressional district in which Senator Lamar lived and announced his candidacy for Congress on the Independent ticket.⁸ A number of his former soldiers, other friends personally attached to him, and disgruntled Democrats followed him out of the Democratic fold.

The white Republicans, now reinforced by the Independents and remnants of the Greenback party, gave the Negro Republicans and Democrats in Mississippi a stiff battle during the years 1882-1884. But Republicans in Washington were aware of the struggle too, for the new allies sought help there. The leaders visited and wrote to William E. Chandler, President Arthur's secretary of the navy.⁹ Their letters to him show that the powerful weapon they used to undermine Negro Republican control and to win the support of the administration was the charge of an understanding between Mississippi Democratic senators and the Negro Republican leaders.

If their accusations may be believed, an understanding existed between Lynch, Hill, and Bruce on the one hand, and Senators Lamar and George on the other, by which the Negro leaders influenced their Republican followers to vote in state and local elections for the Democrats in exchange for which the Democratic senators gave support in Washington to Negro claims for Federal patronage in Mississippi. This arrangement would have advantages other than merely the exchange of votes for patronage. The Democrats, by aiding the Negroes to maintain their control over the Republican party and patronage, would exclude the leadership of able white Republicans, thus reducing to a minimum the danger of the Republican party in Mississippi politics. Furthermore, Negro control of the Republican party in the state would identify that party with the black race, so that the Democrats

⁸ Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, May 10, 17, 1882; Macon *Mississippi Sun*, May 12, 1882; Brookhaven *Ledger*, May 18, 1882; Yazoo City *Yazoo Sentinel*, May 18, 1882.

⁹ William E. Chandler MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), LIII-LIV, LVI-LXI, LXIII, LXIX.

would be able to solidify their party by use of the old rallying cry of the color line. The Populist charge, made about a decade later, that the Bourbon Democrats used the Negro as effectively after Reconstruction as the Republicans used him during Reconstruction, may have been based on the accusations of white Republicans and Independents of Mississippi in the 1880's.

If an understanding between Democratic leaders and Negro Republicans existed, it would not, for obvious reasons, be in written form. The white Republicans and the Independents based their charges on circumstantial evidence.¹⁰ Their letters to Chandler show not only the nature of the facts from which they drew their conclusions but also their representations to Washington concerning the situation.

Headquarters Republican State Central Committee

Jackson, Miss. May 15, 1882

Hon. Wm. E. Chandler

Washington D. C.

Sir

I trust you will pardon a Stranger in expressing his gratitude at your Selection as one of the Presidents advisors, while it is a Source of peculiar pleasure that I learn that you design giving Some especial attention to the task of unraveling the Gordian Knott of Republican politics South. . . .

I feel that I need Scarcely Say to you Mr. Secretary that we cannot destroy Bourbonism here until we first *effectually* and *completely* break the "Color line" in politicks. . . . [Ware urges abandoning the name of Republican in the South since it serves to solidify Bourbonism. He suggests that new men and new measures be presented to break sectional and race hatred.] But there are Two Classes of Politicians who bitterly oppose this polacy 1st the Bourbons because they know Such Polacy will bring to its Standard an Anglo-Saxon following who will *demand & enforce* their Rights. Against this Combination they cannot Cry "Negro domination" and thus drive the whites into a Compact body of revolutionist[s].

2nd A Class of Republicans whose *personal interests* lay in parallel lines with the 1st Class, and [who] reason with themselves, that if too much worth, merit, and Character, Congregates in a Party to which they are attached in the Same ratio will their chances for Federal appointment and other advancements

¹⁰ According to the *Mobile Register*, quoted in the *Brookhaven Ledger*, June 1, 1882, Chalmers said: "I cannot prove it, but I believe the friends of Mr. Lamar made a combination with Mr. Lynch when he was contesting my seat."

lessen. hence these classes while Seeming at Antipodes—are found running in parallel lines. . . . And thus the 2n Class become the valuable allies of the 1st Class. The appreciation and admiration of the Bourbons for this Class of Republicans is very manifest here while at Washington their appointments have been readily Confirmed—¹¹ and an effort to remove them bitterly fought by Democratic Senators. . . .

The leading Spirit of this 2nd Class is James Hill Collector of Internal Revenue. By the Superior advantage his Office affords, he has thwarted, and stifled every effort in the State to broaden the guage, and gather effective white recruits for the fight against Bourbonism. Not Content with the evil he has done and is doing, he now proposes to give this District to his Allies the Bourbons, by having himself *intrigued* by his various Deputies into a nomination for Congress. Of course he well knows that although a Republican District he would be overwhelmingly defeated—for even with the rank & file of his own Race he is extremely unpopular. Easily we can elect some man of broad national views who will earnestly Support the Administration . . . but No! the District must be given to the Bourbons by Hills Candidacy So that his "Nomination" So-called—may be an endorsement of him at Washington and thus enable him to retain his Revenue position, and use it in the future as he has in the past,—for the good of himself, and for the perpetuity of Bourbon rule in the State. If Hills action only affected a Single District, the evil would not be so great—but with the Anti-Bourbon white element of the State which is great & rapidly growing he is *intensely unpopular*—indeed *greatly disliked*—they recognize him as I have stated [as] the ally to the Bourbons—hence his Candidacy or the position he holds will greatly weaken us in every District in the State. . . .

Your Obt Servant

H. R. WARE¹²

Headquarters Republican State Central Committee

Jackson, Miss., May 28, 1882

Hon. Wm. E. Chandler

Washington D. C.

Sir

[Ware protests Hill's desire to run for Congress in the 7th District. He thinks J. B. Yellowly, Republican of Madison County, could win where Hill

¹¹ An instance of ready confirmation was the unanimous and speedy approval of Bruce as register of the Treasury. Lamar moved that it be made unanimous, and it was so done without even the customary reference to a committee. *Memphis Appeal*, May 20, 1881; *Raymond Hinds County Gazette*, June 15, 1881.

¹² Harvey R. Ware, a former Confederate soldier, was appointed chancellor of a Mississippi judicial district in 1875 by Governor Adelbert Ames. The *Raymond Hinds County Gazette*, January 11, 1882, described him as a "clever and reputable" man.

would fail.] But, as usual Hill Sees this prospect of Success & Seeks to thwart it by announcing his name as Candidate for Congress, from the Same District. I need not State Hills purpose is to give the District to the Bourbons, as he has done this since 1874. I write to know is there nothing which can be done by the Administration to prevent this Collector of Revenue from destroying every movement in the State which can bring us Success. If the Administration has determined to retain Hill as Collector can it not Suppress him in his purpose to give the District to the Bourbons[?] [Ware admits the presence of a large black majority in the District, but says it cannot express itself through voting.] . . . it is equally well known that Hill with his *own race is the most unpopular man in the District*¹³. . . . Hill is fighting Chalmers in the 2n Dist. fighting Yellowly in this District and will fight every movement calculated to overthrow Bourbonism. I write only to advise you of these facts & and see if through the Treasury Department this Revenue Department in our State cannot be controlled, So that it Shall not destroy the only movement in the State which can bring us Success.

Very Respectfully
H. R. WARE

Hon. W. E. Chandler
Washington D. C.
My Dear Sir—

Kosciusko, Miss. June 7th 1882

You will pardon me for offering you a few suggestions with reference to affairs *here*— If you recollect I was a Delegate from this State to the Chicago Convention of 1880—and voted 35 times for Mr. Blaine & once for Gen Garfield. . . . I wish to see elected from this State at least two administration members of Congress— Yet I fear they may be lost in consequence of wrangling over the Federal patronage I attended the meeting of our State Ex Committee of which I am a member—and I was grieved to see the factional fight that is going on within our own ranks. . . . This fight began some years ago and grew in intensity. . . . up to the time of the State Convention that met to send Delegates to Chicago in 1880—¹⁴ James Hill (Shermans Revenue Collector) had his paid agents all over the state drumming up delegates for Mr Sherman— The friends of Gen Grant & Mr Blaine had no patronage, and made the fight against the whole treasury department— Hill having pledged to give Sherman 16 votes from Miss— His agents were at work even in my county. . . . [Niles was for Blaine and defeated Hill in this and two other counties. At the subse-

¹³ His unpopularity with the Negroes was recognized by the *Clarion*, which was a Democratic paper. See the Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, September 27, November 15, 1882.

¹⁴ The Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, May 12, 1880, gave an account of the split. When a resolution instructing for Grant was introduced, the "Shermanites" seceded, carrying off all the officers of the convention. Then the two factions, "Grantites" and "Shermanites," held separate conventions.

quent state convention the delegates split in a bitter fight. Then at the next state convention] Hill with all his patronage and hard work was defeated from the chairmanship of the State Committee, and one of the leaders joined the Democratic party—*Now this* condition of affairs presents itself. . . . [Hill wants to run for Congress from the seventh, or Jackson, district]—the District is surely republican with proper management—but as sure as you live, Hill cannot be elected to congress. . . . Outside of Hills Revenue crowd he has no following— I talked when in Jackson (Hills home) to over 50 Colored men, and I took particular pains to ascertain the true sentiment, and I assure you upon the honor of a man—Hill cannot carry one third of his own color with all the patronage at his command, and without the patronage he would have no following whatever. The colored and white Republicans, Independents and Greenbackers are all bitterly opposed to him and will not vote for him if nominated—¹⁵ They will run another candidate thereby insuring the Election of a Democrat— I sincerely believe all I have written, and I have no selfish motive in writing as I do— Personally Hill and I are friendly— I see no sound reason for Hill being permitted to *Experiment* with a District that with any other good man can be carried— I am not a citizen of the District—I only speak of what I know the feeling to be, His strikers are riding over the District pretending to be transacting public business—getting up petitions sending them to Washington, with no other view in the world than to retain his position Col Lamar & Senator George are both in favor of his retaining his position as a Democrat cant get it—for the reason, that he is of decided benefit to them— I am informed by men that I regard as truthful that during the last campaign in this state our party secrets were all divulged by Hill and that it was no unfrequent circumstance to see the Democratic party managers in close and intimate consultation [with him]— This is openly charged and the Republicans Independents and Greenbackers openly complain of him, that he was a regular “Judas Iscariot”—in the last campaign—his treachery growing out of his disappointment in not being chairman of the State Committee . . . [Niles hopes for Hill’s removal at an early date.] I honestly believe that if he is removed we can organize a party that will aid the administration and the whole party. . . .

Your friend

HENRY C. NILES¹⁶

¹⁵ At the district convention at Hazelhurst which nominated James Hill (two months after this letter was written), the enmity between the white and black wings of the Republican party was open and bitter. Wesson *Herald*, quoted in Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, August 23, 1882.

¹⁶ Henry C. Niles was born at Kosciusko, Mississippi, in 1850, the son of Jason Niles. He was a member of the Mississippi legislature in 1878 and 1886. Republican in politics, he served as United States district attorney of the northern district of Mississippi, 1889 to 1891; at the latter date he was appointed United States district judge of the northern and southern districts of Mississippi. *Who’s Who in America* . . . 1899-1900, p. 527.

Oxford, Mississippi, June 14th 82

Hon. Wm E. Chandler

I write you a hurried letter in regard to this the 2nd Congressional District—[Ware predicts that Chalmers will defeat Vannoy H. Manning¹⁷ by a majority of 3,000 to 5,000.] If Hill et al. shall be allowed to play their usual role of putting in the field Just at a critical time with the Bourbons what they are pleased to Call a "Straight Republican Ticket" *of course* Such movement can bring Success to their Bourbon Allies— We trust that the Administration will See that this Joint alliance between the Bourbons & the Department of Int Revenue of this State shall be broken & allow us to Send an Independent to Congress from this and the 7th District.

Very respectfully

Your obt svt.

H. R. WARE

Office of United States Marshal
Northern District of Mississippi

Oxford, Mississippi, June 15, 1882

Hon. Wm. E. Chandler

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir:

I write you on political affairs in Miss. for the reason that we have no one in the cabinet from the South, and the southern republicans look to you as their friend.

The Situation in Miss. is more hopeful than it has been at any time since 1875; and if we can get a fair field the republicans and independents will certainly carry three congressional districts,¹⁸ . . . [the second, third,] and the 7th or Jackson district—if Jim Hill, the collector of internal revenue, can be kept from running a straight ticket in the Jackson district. He, Hill, is in league with the democrats ala Wickham and Dizendorf of Va., and at every election plays into their hands. I have no doubt of this.

. . . Hill and his revenue crowd were Sherman men and have no sympathy with nine tenths of the party in the state. The President's message on the subject of the Mississippi levees has given the independent movement a boom in this state and no mistake;¹⁹ and if the President will appoint Gen. George C. McKee collector in place of Hill we can organize an independent movement that

¹⁷ Democratic congressman, 1877-1883. Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi*, II, 164.

¹⁸ The Republican State Executive Committee had met the preceding week. The sentiment of the conference, as reported by the Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, June 14, 1882, was that the Republicans would name the candidates for the third and seventh districts, while the Independents and Greenbackers would name the candidates in the other districts.

¹⁹ President Arthur's message to Congress, in *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., 2975 (April 18, 1882).

will win without a doubt in three districts. McKee is a good politician, is a stalwart republican, and is in favor of a fusion with all the elements opposed to ballot box stuffing. McKee is not an applicant for the position so far as I know, and I write this without his knowledge.

Respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. L. MORPHIS²⁰

Headquarters of the Republican
Congressional Committee 1882

Confidential

Washington, D. C., July 4th 1882

My Dear Secretary [Chandler]

Miss. letters rec^d. I have had Similar letters from Each. Miss. is the hot-bed of faction. I am doing all I can to quiet it, but the feuds are deep and deadly.

I wish you would drop a line to Each Correspondent urging them to put up with almost anything until the Campaign is over. Hill has bitter foes & the three writers with Genl. McKee, are the worst of them. But Hill is the brains of the negroes. Has the political machinery in his hands & it will not do to remove him while both armies are in motion. We must, however, *make* him obey orders where we make them. & he promises to obey squarely.

Yrs
HENDERSON²¹

Jackson Miss July 6, 1882

Hon W. E. Chandler

Dear Sir:

I had intended writing you on our political situation but the enclosed letter of Mr. Niles fills the bill so well and is such an *unpremeditated*²² expression of honest opinion, that I send it instead of one of my own

Mr. Niles is an able young lawyer, son of Judge Niles (formerly a Rep. M. C. from Miss) . . . [He was a Blaine delegate at Chicago.] I think you will remember him for he is a man of mark

Please read the letter carefully if you want to know what is the truth of the

²⁰ James L. Morphis was marshal of the northern district of Mississippi in 1882. *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, Centennial Edition* (Madison, Wis., 1917), 436.

²¹ David B. Henderson was congressman from Iowa, 1883 to 1903. At this date he was secretary of the Republican Congressional Committee. Louis B. Schmidt, "David Bremner Henderson," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 525-26.

²² Its "unpremeditated" nature may well be doubted. Why should Niles write to McKee a carefully detailed description of the political situation when McKee was already bitterly aware of every fact?

political situation here. If he does not state the truth, then for 17 years have I fought the Republican battle in Miss, in dense ignorance of my surroundings.

Bruce & Lamar humbug the different administrations, and keep up negro rule in the Rep party in order that fear of negro rule in the State may keep white men in the Dem. party.

Between the upper millstone [of] Southern folly and the lower millstone of Southern crime we are ground to powder, useful only for the purpose of sending Dalgetty delegates from rotten borough constituencies to National Rep conventions

Your Friend

GEO C. MCKEE

[Enclosed in McKee's letter to Chandler, July 6, 1882]

Kosciusko June 30th 1882

My Dear Sir [McKee]:

I have fully determined upon leaving this State and I write this to obtain a *letter* of a *general* character from you— . . . Hill & Co & Lamar & Co have exclusive Jurisdiction in the province of Miss— Jim Hill is under the influence, and in the leading strings of Lamar & Co. It is and has been the purpose of the Democrats to head off from office all men of ability and integrity in our party, when patronage or preferment is necessarily in the hands of Republicans, their effort is in the direction of unworthy bestowal, and always in favor of the negro to the exclusion of the white man. This they very naturally hold will confine the Republican party, to its smallest *quantity* and place that smallest *quantity* under the control of aspiring negroes— Lamar as you know, is ever ready to give his support, when Federal patronage is the prize, to the negro, to the exclusion of all whites. This manifestation of favoritism, is pleasing to the negro, it assists in holding him to the front, and at the same time cuts off all hope for recruiting our ranks from the whites— a good many intelligent men thought Lamar *insincere*, when he declared himself in favor of Bruce for a place in the cabinet, to the exclusion of any white Republican South—²⁸ I believe that he was entirely *sincere*, and that his declaration was in the direction of a well matured policy, having in view the domination of bourbon Democracy as representing the white people South, as against Republicans representing the colored people South & North. I don't say that there is a compact in binding form existing between the parties, but I do believe the parties understand the matter well— Of course this line of policy satisfies Hill & Co, in this, that they secure the support of Demo-

²⁸ The Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, September 27, 1882, denied that Lamar urged Bruce for a seat in Garfield's cabinet. The Garfield MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), CXX, contains a letter from Lamar to Garfield recommending Blaine, but none recommending Bruce.

crats in the Senate [and] are strengthened at home by reason of the fact that, the masses of the Republican party South, composed of negroes are able to beat down any white republican opposition in their own party— The Northern Republicans, by reason of this hypocritical friendship manifested by the Democrats for the negro, imagine they discover a fading out of race prejudice which will in the end wipe out existing disorders at the ballot box, whereby the national legislature will soon be relieved of the annoyance resulting from contested elections in the House, and so are led to regard with pleasure, this seeming evidence, or manifestation of a coming homogeneity of race, an end which all hold essential to the well being of our country— The compact between Hill & Co & Lamar & Co makes a combination difficult to confront, to charge it upon them, would be to add to its strength, to prove that the compact Kept the negro in the front of the Republican party, that it gave him rank above his white competitor that it gave him in fact all that was desirable in party organization, would be pleasing to the negro, and encouraging to the Democrats, the cry of negro party but draws to it the negro while it repels the white man— . . . The above are some of my reasons for leaving the state I prefer to be a "*bull whacker*" on the plains of Kansas than dominated over by the influences I have described— . . .

Your friend—

H. C. NILES

Sardis Miss Oct 24/82

Private & Confidential

Hon W E Chandler

Dear Sir—Hubbell²⁴ promised to let me have \$2000 to aid my canvass— He sent me 1500 & I am now informed that 500 was spent for newspapers on Buchanans²⁵ order—. I know nothing of this & have made promises based on the expectation of the remaining \$500 coming to me

Negroes are like chinamen very suspicious & if you promise to pay them money at a certain time it must come there or your influence for the future with them is gone.

Now I have spent every dollar of my own that I could lay hands on & have tried to borrow more from friends but failed— The time is just coming when my promises must be redeemed & I am unable without help to do it

In short you must raise \$500 & send to me as soon as you can— I think I have made a fair start to redeem Miss & the prospect must not be dimmed. As

²⁴ Jay A. Hubbell, congressman from Michigan, 1873 to 1883. He was at this time chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1124.

²⁵ This was probably George M. Buchanan of Holly Springs, a former Confederate soldier, who was sheriff of Marshall County, 1870-1880. Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi*, III, 94.

the excited preacher said at the camp meeting when he wanted more straw for the mourners to kneel on "We must not lose the chance of saving immortal souls just for the want of a little straw"—

Henderson wrote & telegraphs that he can do nothing more for me hence I appeal to you

Yrs truly

JAS R CHALMERS

Republican State Central Committee

Jackson, Miss. [November,] 1882

Sir [W. E. Chandler]

. . . Hill the Collector on yesterday was beaten for Congress in this the 7th Dist. by perhaps Seven Thousand Majority while the District was Republican by 10,000 majority.²⁶ It was a remarkably quiet & so far as I know or believe was [a] fair election in *this District* (a remarkable thing in Mississippi) Barksdale the Democrat who defeated Hill, was an *exceedingly* unpopular man,²⁷ . . . Hill cannot attribute his defeat to the opposition he had from leading Republicans for not one exerted their influence against him, though all advised Mr Henderson & others at Washington, who urged & procured his nomination that Such Selection would be fatal to the District.²⁸ We have 5000 white Independents in the District who would have voted for any Republican, except one who year after year in the District & elsewhere had been bitter in their denunciation of Independents,²⁹ but Mr Henderson, not less than Mr Hill, has recently made himself especially offensive to this important & *indispensible* auxiliary to Republicans in this District. . . . it troubles me greatly to See Mr Henderson or those who sympathize with him destroy in a day a political Combination which for long years I have worked through dangers to organize against Bourbonism

²⁶ In August Republicans estimated that the seventh district contained 22,500 Negro voters and 12,500 white voters. The Republicans anticipated 2,500 white Republican votes in the district on election day, 5,000 Independent, Greenback, Whig, and dissatisfied Democratic votes, and most of the Negro votes, which would make an overwhelming majority for the Republican candidate. Brookhaven *Ledger*, August 3, 1882.

²⁷ Ethelbert Barksdale was not as unpopular as the Republicans thought. Although he, with Chalmers and others, had fought the Lamar wing of the Democratic party since 1878 and had been defeated, he had remained faithful to the party and the Democrats now rallied to him. He was, after all, one of the ablest Democratic leaders in the state. Lamar stated for publication that he would have canvassed for Barksdale but for illness in his family. Macon *Beacon*, October 14, 1882. See also, Jackson *New Mississippian*, September 26, 1882.

²⁸ The Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, November 15, 1882, showed that the total vote cast in the district was 22 per cent less than in the preceding election. The usual number of Democratic votes were cast, said the *Clarion*; the decline was in Republican votes.

²⁹ For comment on Hill's attitude toward the Independents, see *ibid.*, September 27, October 18, 1882.

Mr Secretary again I say what I have said a Thousand times before, & what yesterday demonstrated, that Hill, Gibbs,⁸⁰ & Bob Alcorn⁸¹ cannot organize *anything* to beat *anything* in Mississippi, 1st Because Republicans have no Confidence in them, because for years, at repeated elections, they have betrayed the Republicans & Independents. 2nd Because they are political Cowards who go into a Canvass with trembling lips afraid to assert their views hence no one has respect for them. I have no personal ill will to these men, I am no wrangler in the Party, . . . I ask for nothing, but remove Such obstructionists as Henderson's *influence* & Hill Gibbs et al. in this State, and Mississippi will give a majority of 30.000 against Bourbonism, . . .

[Ware resents Henderson's insinuation that he (Ware) has acted treacherously toward the party.]

Very truly yours
H R WARE

Kosciusko Nov 25th 1882

Hon Wm E. Chandler

Washington D. C.

My Dear Sir—

I wrote to you some months ago in which I told you how a Congressional District with ten thousand Republican majority was to be lost by the impudence ignorance and insolence of Mr R. B. Hayes Internal Rev Collector James Hill Your good sense at once sees the absolute folly of attempting to run an opposition to Bourbon Democracy "negro End first"—If you will route Jim Hills band from the Federal positions they disgrace and put some good man in his stead we can make a fight against Democracy, and secure the aid of white men in the contest—But if Lamar can keep the negro on top—the "*race issue*" will be the cry in every contest—and we will be the sufferers—Jim Hill had all the money he wanted in his race for Congress⁸² he had the prestige of Federal patronage, and he had a largely Republican District—and he lost it—Now is he to dominate the State longer[?] If his domination can be called Republican anything can be—I dont ask place or power—but I do ask a chance to fight for place and power in local affairs—but I will along with hundreds of others never

⁸⁰ W. H. Gibbs was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868 and later of the Mississippi legislature. He was state auditor of public accounts from 1874 to 1878. *Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi*, 1917, p. 72.

⁸¹ Robert J. Alcorn represented Yalobusha County in the Constitutional Convention of 1868. He held the office of receiver of public monies for several years prior to July, 1880, when he was removed, allegedly because he supported Grant for a third term. Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, July 28, 1880.

⁸² The Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, November 15, 1882, reported as hearsay that Hill had spent thousands of dollars from the Republican party treasury during his campaign. Bruce came from Washington and campaigned for Hill in an effort to save that district for the Republican party.

raise one arm to aid a band of drunken insolent negroes—whose chief claim to distinction is a little low vulgar cunning— I never voted any ticket other than a Republican Ticket in my life But if this thing called Republicanism shall descend to a miserable scramble for Federal patronage—then all decent self respecting men should stand aloof—for the difference between Jim Hills crowd and Democracy—is scarcely worth fighting for— You can help us here if you will— If you ever expect any help in the future you must strike from power such fellows as I have named— . . .

Your friend

HENRY C. NILES

Washington D C Mch 1st 1883

Hon. W. E. Chandler:

Dear Sir

Before leaving this city we desire to say that the first ray of light Mississippi Republicans have seen since 1875 came from the Presidents policy of promoting liberalism in our Bourbon-ridden State.⁸³ If persisted in it will finally liberalize every State South that has a Rep. majority and perhaps others.

Gen'l Chalmers is a natural leader in Miss. We appeal to you to strengthen his hands. We endorse him and stand by him in Miss. and we ask you to do the same for him here. He has our confidence, and we know he will use wisely and well for the general good any trust reposed in him. He cooperates and consults fully and freely with us

As one of the very ablest exponents of the President's policy we write you. Some one should be here in Washington who may be consulted on Miss. affairs, and Gen'l Chalmers cause is ours

Very Respfy

G. C. CHANDLER⁸⁴

J. B. DEASON⁸⁵

GEO. C. MCKEE

⁸³ The ray of light may have been either the reappointment of McKee as postmaster at Jackson, or the appointment of John T. Hull as receiver of public monies, or both. Hull, "a high mettled Greenbacker," succeeded A. N. Kimball, a Lynch Republican who had replaced R. J. Alcorn in 1880. The significance of Hull's appointment was not missed by the *Clarion*; in the issue of March 14, 1883, Barksdale said: "It seems to be the beginning of a new departure by the Republican managers, with Mahonism in Virginia for its counterpart."

⁸⁴ Green C. Chandler was appointed circuit judge in Mississippi by Governor James L. Alcorn. At the date of the above letter he was United States district attorney for the northern district of Mississippi. *Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi*, 1917, p. 435.

⁸⁵ The letterhead of the Mississippi Republican party stationery shows that Deason was a member of the executive committee of the Mississippi Republican Central Committee.

Sardis Miss Ap. 22 /83

Hon W. E Chandler

Dear Sir

I call your attention to the enclosed clipping which I saw in the press dispatches some days since but could not believe it to be true until I saw it in the Nat[ional] Rep[ublican]. I was fairly elected to the 48th Cong as a friend of the administration & was cheated out of my certificate of election by the enemies of the administration—⁸⁶ A contestant with an honest claim to a seat is usually recognised by the department when a friend of the administration & I did not expect such a stab as this from the cabinet officer of the President I was supporting— It is giving great aid & comfort not only to my enemies but to the enemies of the administration & I respectfully request that you call the attention of the President to it.

I ask no favors, but I think I am entitled to the recognition usually accorded to a contestant with an honest claim to a seat in Congress & who is a friend of the administration

I have the honor to be

Very Respy. Yrs

JAS R CHALMERS

[Clipping enclosed in above letter]

Washington Notes

Postmaster General Gresham to-day directed that in making Post Office appointments in Mississippi the recommendations of Congressman Chalmers be given no greater weight than may properly be attached to them as the recommendations of a private citizen.

Sardis, Miss. July 2n 1883

Hon W. E. Chandler

Dear sir. When I saw you last I thought I . . . [had] reconciled the differences between the factions of Rev Collector James Hill & Gen Geo McKee in Miss. but I find that my efforts at reconciliation have brought the Hill faction down on me When McKee charged that Hill was more than content that Lamar should control Miss if he Hill could control the federal appointments I did not believe it. Buchanan, Burton, & others who were my friends were friends of Hill & I believed with them—

I never had any confidence in Lynch & always believed he would fuse with Lamar for his own advancement & his recent course has shown it.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Manning's right to a seat in Congress was challenged by Chalmers because of an error in the election returns. Chalmers finally obtained the seat, but only in June, 1884. Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi*, I, 391.

⁸⁷ Lynch's "recent course" may have reference to his bitter opposition to Chalmers in

You see the strength of the independent movement when you see how it has driven the democrats into an open fusion with Lynch & Hill & if we can get a fair count you will see that we will beat this combination as easy as we beat the Combination of Manning & Carter. Hill used his office to induce the Rep Ex Committee to endorse Lynch's 3^r resolution to allow fusion with democrats but failed. The Committee repudiated this resolution & forbade any fusion with ballot stuffing democracy. Now in the face of this resolution the fusion goes on & it is publicly stated that Hill as well as Lynch Endorses it.⁸⁸

So far as I am personally concerned this will strengthen me with the white people & will hurt me but little with the negroes—but I call your attention to it & thro' you the President's for this purpose.

I wish to know whether the administration endorses this fusion with the Lamar democracy— And if not whether it proposes to allow Mr Hill to continue to hold the Chief federal appointment in the State & use it against the independent movement— . . . I started as a friend of the Administration & expect to continue such— I ask no favors but I think I have a right to ask that the administration shall not fight me through its office holders. Please answer.

Yrs Respy

JAS R CHALMERS

[Postscript written at Jackson, July 9]

. . . I do not need federal patronage to win & do not ask for it but if Hill was removed & Buchanan put in his place it would greatly enhance the chances of republican success in Miss next year— Lynch & Hill would prefer democratic success in Miss to any division of their power over federal patronage that is evident. . . .

Holly Springs Mississippi July 11th 1883

Political

From Geo M. Buchanan

Hon Wm E Chandler

Washington D C

Dear Sir

You have doubtless noticed through the Press the recent assault made by John R Lynch upon the *Effort* now being made by Genl Chalmers in this state. Lest our friends in Washington may Construe Mr. Lynch's actions as indicating the party conventions, and his inclination toward Democrats in preference to Independents and white Republicans, as shown in the Republican State Executive Committee meeting, June 12, 1883. *Raymond Hinds County Gazette*, June 16, 1883. See also, *Jackson State Ledger*, June 16, 23, 1883.

⁸⁸ Public statements approving fusion were made in an open letter signed by James Hill, and published in the *Raymond Hinds County Gazette*, August 11, 1883; and by Lynch at a barbecue in Raymond, September 29, 1883, *ibid.*, October 13, 1883.

sentiment of Republicans of this state *generally*, towards Genl Chalmers and his Independent followers, I desire to say that the hostility of Mr Lynch can only be regarded as a *personal* movement based on his long standing distaste to Genl Chalmers, coupled it is believed with the desire and hope of political reward through alliances he may be able to make with leaders in the Democratic party of the state, together with that natural jealousy he has of any new man supplanting him in the Control of Executive patronage which he has so long enjoyed. I do not apprehend any serious Consequences from Mr Lynch's movements *provided he is not supported therein by the Administration*, which I cannot Conceive to be possible under the Circumstances. . . . [Chalmers has split the democracy in the state, and the prospect for Republican success in Mississippi in 1884 depends on him.] And I beg leave to again Express the Earnest hope that Mr Lynch and others who are Federal office holders in this state, may be utterly discountenanced by yourself & other friends, who have the power to help or to injure us.

I am most Respectfully

GEO. M. BUCHANAN

Sardis, Miss July 16th 1884

Hon. W. E. Chandler:

Dear Sir:

I write this to you as a friend, both, of the President & of Mr Blaine & ask your immediate attention to the matter—

There is a great dissatisfaction among the white people of Miss., and they are ready for a revolt against [the] democratic party— To counteract this the democrats are using every possible means to induce the negro leaders to draw the color line against the Independents.

The chief instrument through which the democrats are working is James Hill, the Internal Rev. Collector of Miss. Last year he openly fused with the democrats in the County elections & in public Speeches stated that he was acting in accordance with the wishes of the President.³⁹ This I knew to be false, but it had great effect upon the colored voters— But unfortunately the removal of Independents who were Postmasters in Hinds and other Counties & the appointment in their places of the expressed friends of Hill has done much to corroborate the statements of Hill, that *he* represents the Administration in Miss.

In my District, I asked for the appointment of Capt. Geo. M. Buchanan . . . as Superintendent of the Public Buildings at Oxford. His appointment was directed to be made by Secretary Folger⁴⁰ some time ago but it was delayed & I did not know why until I returned home & found that Hill had been boast-

³⁹ This charge was true. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1883.

⁴⁰ Charles J. Folger, secretary of the treasury under Arthur, 1881-1884. Richard B. Morris, "Charles James Folger," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 486-87.

ing that he did it & that a friend of his would be appointed instead of Buchanan. . . .

[Chalmers wants to show the damage Hill is doing. In the fifth congressional district Hill manipulated the convention through his deputies so that Josh Smith, one of his deputies, was nominated for Congress. There are some very prominent Republicans in that district, such as Judge Jason Niles and his son, Henry C. Niles. In the fourth district Hill had another deputy, Frazee, nominated; he cannot possibly be elected. Hill passed over S. M. Roan and Mat Mister, both of whom would have made good candidates. Hill has another deputy, Pearce, canvassing in the third district. He will probably be defeated; but, if elected, he will not be counted in, for he is a negro. In the seventh district, Judge Luke Lea can be elected, but Hill will control the convention and have himself nominated as in 1882. Hill ought to win, but he will not.]

In my District,—the 2d Hill & his brother, who is one of his deputies did *all* they could to defeat my nomination. Promised offices to delegates & told all manner of lies, but they utterly failed in their effort to defeat me. One colored man walked fifty six miles to get to the convention to vote for me & after the bogus contesting delegates which Hill brought up—only a few in number—*were* rejected, I was unanimously nominated on yesterday.

Hill told the Hon. R. A. Hill, the U. S. Dist. Judge at Oxford,⁴¹ that if he could not defeat me for the nomination he would have me defeated at the polls, & it can be proved that he instructed his brother to have a bolting convention if I was nominated, & he tried it but had only four men to follow him.

Now, he & his deputies have been traveling all over the State on this work of breaking down the only dangerous opposition to the democrats & they have no doubt charged their expenses to the government. . . . We ought to elect four Congressmen from Miss., & carry the State for Blaine & Logan, & if Hill is removed & a good man put in his place it may be done— With Hill as the Republican leader in Mississippi & working as he now is we may not elect a single Congressman.

Yours Respectfully,

JAS R CHALMERS

⁴¹ Robert A. Hill (1811-1900) moved to Mississippi from Tennessee in 1855. He served as probate judge from 1858 until the end of the war, but did not participate either in secession or in military events. From 1866 until his resignation in 1891 he was United States district judge in northern Mississippi. He enforced the Reconstruction legislation with as little oppression as possible. Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi*, I, 863-64. Henry C. Niles succeeded Hill as Federal judge.

Book Reviews

Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century. By Susie M. Ames. (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1940. Pp. vii, 274. Frontispiece, bibliography, appendix. \$3.50.)

The oldest continuous county court records extant in the United States are those of Accomack and Northampton which together include the whole of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. They begin with the year 1632 and furnish one of the most valuable sources for the study of seventeenth century Virginia. Except for brief excerpts they have never been published. Professor Ames has explored this mine of information and has made some interesting discoveries concerning the early social and economic development of the Old Dominion. She found, for instance, that the average size of land grants increased from slightly less than five hundred acres during the first generation after settlement to about a thousand acres during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, with a considerable proportion of the acreage in the hands of large holders. During the last quarter of the century the size of grants declined and in many cases the large estates were broken up. This change was due partly to the fact that no new lands were available after about 1675, and apparently also to the fact that at about this time tobacco culture was abandoned on the Eastern Shore and grain growing and cattle raising correspondingly increased.

Other interesting discoveries are that tenancy was prevalent on the larger estates; that industrial apprenticeship was common; and that the larger landholders frequently engaged in commerce and carried on a considerable trade in cattle and grain with the West Indies. Thus the Eastern Shore developed an economy similar to that of the colonies to the northward, and a social system like that which prevailed on Virginia's coastal mainland. Students will find many details to illustrate these and other points in Professor Ames' meticulous analysis of the ancient records of the "Kingdome of Accawmacke."

University of Virginia

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

Daniel Boone, Master of the Wilderness. By John Bakeless. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1939. Pp. xii, 480. Illustrations, bibliography, map. \$3.50.)

Daniel Boone has long been one of America's greatest heroes, and many accounts of his eventful and picturesque life have been published. Not until this

late date, however, has a satisfactory biography of the celebrated scout and pioneer been produced. The only account that approaches this one in excellence is Reuben Gold Thwaites' *Daniel Boone*, but it is too brief to satisfy either the historian or the general reader. Furthermore, Thwaites hardly used any material other than the Draper Boone manuscripts in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Bakeless, however, not only used the valuable Draper Papers but also the Durrett Collection of Kentuckiana at the University of Chicago and all Boone sources that he could find at other places. A great deal of the material in his book, therefore, appears in print for the first time and with complete documentation. Moreover, he gives many quotations and reported conversations that enhance the reader's interest.

In fact, the author follows Boone's remarkable career in the intriguing manner that only an able journalist and biographer can write. He goes familiarly with his hero from his birthplace in Berks County, Pennsylvania (Daniel was born November 2, 1734), to the Yadkin, in North Carolina; on General Brad-dock's ill-fated expedition in 1755; to Florida in 1765, seeking a new home for his family; to the enchanting Kentucky hunting grounds in the late 1760's; to the Bluegrass country in 1774 on a mission for Governor Dunmore; over the Wilderness Road in 1775 to establish a settlement for the Transylvania Company; as a member of the first legislative body (1775) in Kentucky; to Detroit in 1778 as an Indian captive; in his many exciting experiences with savages and their white and half-breed allies; in his successful defenses of Boonesborough; to his exoneration in the shameful court martial of 1778; to the Virginia legislature early in 1781, being captured on the way by Tarleton; in his interview with John Filson, the historian, in 1784; in his land adventures and distressing failures; to Virginia proper to live in the late 1780's; to his settlement in foreign territory beyond the Mississippi in the 1790's, becoming a Spanish official; up the Yellowstone River to the Rocky Mountains in his late seventies or early eighties; to his first grave on the Missouri River in 1820; and finally, twenty-five years later, in triumph to his resting place by the remains of his faithful wife, Rebecca, on the beautiful Kentucky River at Frankfort, where thousands annually pay their respects to his pre-eminence as American scout and pioneer.

Really, Boone has only one worthy rival as scout, pioneer, and Indian strategist, and he is Kit Carson, who was born in Madison County, Kentucky, about fifteen miles from Boonesborough. But right here (p. 391) Mr. Bakeless is very careless, for he says: "The old man [Boone] had heard tales of Salt Lake, perhaps from Kit Carson, who is said to have been a kinsman of the Boones." Actually, Carson was only eleven years old at the time of Boone's death, and had not yet begun his career as scout and guide.

The book is attractive, and its illustrations and two maps are valuable contributions. Indeed, Mr. Bakeless has prepared a volume that will likely long remain the standard work on the life of Daniel Boone. A unique feature of

the book is the manner in which the notes and the contents proper are related. No indication whatever is made to a note on the page itself. The reader, therefore, is not disturbed by frequent citations to the notes, which appear by chapters near the end of the volume. There each note is preceded by the number of the page and the number of the paragraph on that page to which the reference is made. The arrangement is very satisfactory.

State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky

JONATHAN T. DORRIS

The Present State of Virginia, and the College. By Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton. Edited, with an introduction, by Hunter Dickinson Farish. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1940. Princeton University Press, sales agent. Pp. lxxiii, 105. Illustrations. \$2.75.)

This is the first volume of a series, the *Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies*, published under the auspices of the Department of Research and Record of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, the purpose of which is to depict the origin, development, and expansion of eighteenth century civilization in and around Williamsburg.

The selection of this work to inaugurate the series is highly appropriate. Not only is it somewhat inaccessible but also it was written by three men resident in the colony during the period when the old capital, Jamestown, was being overshadowed by a new cultural and political center, Williamsburg. While short, the work is replete with information on many aspects of Virginia life and institutions.

Mr. Farish has added greatly to the value of this edition by including an introduction of sixty-three pages in which he gives the reader the biobibliographical information and evaluation prerequisite to a full understanding of the material edited, together with an excellent description of the historical background and English mercantilist policies. The clarity with which this condensation of a complex subject has been handled is to be commended.

In 1696 the English Board of Trade was organized and colonial affairs were subjected to an investigation with the view of obtaining concrete information upon which a better-knit colonial policy might be based. Persons familiar with colonial conditions were asked to make reports to the Board, among whom were the authors of *The Present State of Virginia*. Of the three James Blair is the best known because of his labors for the College of William and Mary and his career as commissary of the Bishop of London. Fifty-eight years of his life were spent in Virginia, and for a full half century the Scotchman served as president of the college. Far less is known of the other two, Henry Hartwell and Edward Chilton. They were Englishmen, colonial lawyers of great ability, and members of the official family of Virginia, both having served as clerk of the Governor's Council. All three men married into the rising planter class of the province.

The social, economic, and political experience and status of the men must be considered in reading their report to the Board of Trade because these doubtless shaped their observations.

The narrative furnishes a highly valuable account of the social, economic, religious, and political development of Virginia at the close of the seventeenth century, and, perhaps because of its nature, is more compact and revealing than other contemporary accounts. The tendency to become expansive when describing the natural background and resources was fortunately held in leash, while topics of greater moment take up the bulk of the narrative. Land tenure and civil government, for example, are described in detail, and the part played by tobacco in shaping the pattern of life in the tidewater readily becomes apparent. The charter of the college is given in full.

Students of Colonial America and Virginia especially will welcome this edition as the fulfillment of a longfelt need and a contribution to historical scholarship. The footnotes are of great help to the reader, the index appears adequate, and the format and illustrations add to the attractiveness of the work.

New York University

RALPH B. FLANDERS

Colonel James Neilson: A Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784-1862. By Robert T. Thompson. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1940. Pp. xiii, 359. Illustrations, bibliography, appendices. \$3.75.)

Much more significant than the lives of John Neilson (1745-1833) and his son James Neilson (1784-1862) was the transition period in the industrial history of New Brunswick and New Jersey in which they played such a large part. Herein business itself evolved from a condition in which land, turnpike companies, and general merchandising were all important, to the modern machine age of factories and holding companies. By 1830 the death knell of turnpikes and stagecoaches had been sounded by railroads and canals, and general merchandising was giving way to the more specialized banking, insurance, and transportation.

James Neilson's success in merchandising and land development paved the way for the promotion of major transportation and industrial projects. Three of his four wives brought to him resources in estates, scattered from upstate New York to Mississippi, from which his conservative management made available more than \$200,000 for his later ventures in steamship navigation, canals, railroads, and manufacturing companies. Of these by far the most important was the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company which finally succeeded in controlling overland transportation from the Philadelphia region to New York City. The long and indefatigable struggle of the company's promoters against almost insurmountable physical, financial, and political odds presages the age of Rocke-

feller and Morgan, though necessarily on a smaller and therefore more completely understandable scale. Monopoly, lobbying, price cutting, rebates and drawbacks, pooling, corporate consolidation, interlocking directorates and joint boards of directors, ownership of corporation stock by another corporation, stock manipulation, control of politicians, and a holding combine—all these are part of the story which takes place before the Civil War.

Neilson was not universally successful but his patience and perseverance saw him through most of his major projects. He was rarely a speculator, perhaps because "flyers" in Texas lands, Mississippi steamboat navigation, and mineral prospecting brought meager results. There never seems to have been any question of his personal integrity. Mr. Thompson, for the most part, rightly lets the record speak for itself, but occasionally he assumes the moral tone of John Neilson who insisted that a man of business must be "of noble and unselfish character, a true Christian gentleman." After all, James Neilson was a "super-lobbyist," he had evicted tenants and attached their furniture, he had destroyed squatters' shanties and foreclosed mortgages. He was a director in one company whose actions "bore some resemblance to the Credit Mobilier."

The South played its part in the fortunes of Neilson, a portion of whose wealth came from Mississippi land, slaves, and cotton. He owned several slaves until New Jersey decreed emancipation. His second wife died in Charleston where he had friends and business associates, and from South Carolina came John Potter whose financial backing made possible the success of the Delaware and Raritan Canal.

Mr. Thompson's scholarly and thoroughly documented study resulted from years of research, particularly in the Neilson Papers in the Rutgers Library covering the years 1745-1937. He probably goes into too much detail about the managerial activities in James Neilson's early life. Business records may not lend themselves to exciting reading at all times, but the book as a whole is to be highly commended. It helps materially to explain the machine age of today. The Rutgers University Press has enhanced the value of the book with a splendid job of publishing.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

Slavery Times in Kentucky. By J. Winston Coleman, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 351. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

This book is the thoughtful work of a new generation of Southerners examining their past. The institution of southern slavery, unfortunately, has caused more controversy than any other subject in our history. It is peculiarly difficult for a Southerner to free himself from a defensive psychology in writing about the Old South, but Mr. Coleman has succeeded admirably in attaining a candid

and objective point of view. After all, why should national-minded Southerners today write the history of the ante-bellum South with a chip on their shoulders, as if the abolitionists were still alive?

Slavery Times in Kentucky is more than a scientific analysis of the institution of slavery. It presents "the atmosphere" of the period in a vivid and authentic fashion, because the author has saturated his mind with a rich variety of historic material, court records, wills, diaries, pamphlets, newspapers, and personal interviews with survivors of the Old South. His book, therefore, is a convincing demonstration of his thesis that slavery in Kentucky was "a social order at once kindly yet cruel, benevolent, though despotic." The contradictions in this social order are strongly marked: the Kentucky slaves were in general humanely treated, yet slaveowners were never entirely free from the fear of insurrection; many slaves showed a devotion to "old Marster," yet "freedom and liberty were often the bondsman's uppermost thoughts." Mr. Coleman undoubtedly understands the psychology of the southern Negro and can write both realistically and sympathetically about him. Excellent chapters in his book describe the patrol system, the internal slave trade and the efforts made to curb it, Negro runaways, the failure of the colonization movement, and "The Darker Side" in which the evils of slavery are probed. The most cruel aspect of slavery was the separation of families, which the southern states never remedied by legislation.

One of the finest chapters of the book is the last, dealing with the struggle between the proslavery and antislavery forces. Here the author narrates how the proslavery forces won an overwhelming victory, and suppressed the freedom of speech and of the press. This victory was attained despite the fact that slavery was not a profitable investment for the majority of Kentucky slaveholders. Indeed, the institution of slavery produced "conditioned thinking," where like-mindedness was enforced, not by laws and courts, but by stern popular pressure and even by the violence of the mob. Slavery was far worse for the whites than for the blacks. Many of the noblest minds of the South reluctantly kept their slaves in bondage, because they thought that this solution of the problem was the lesser of two evils. Perhaps the profoundest thought in Mr. Coleman's book is his observation that slavery stood unchanged at the close of the ante-bellum period. Practically nothing had been done to provide for its gradual disappearance, nor had the institution itself been ameliorated. The static condition of slavery in 1860, this reviewer believes, was due in large part to the sealing of the press to criticism of the institution of slavery and to the suppression of such bold and original minds as Robert J. Breckinridge, Cassius Clay, and James G. Birney.

This excellent study of slavery in Kentucky raises certain questions. What was the relation of the poor white to the slave system? Was the presence of the Negro in the South, rather than the institution of slavery, the cause for the backwardness of the land of Dixie? Has slavery been overemphasized as a factor

explaining southern development? Finally, have the effects of slavery on the southern whites been adequately investigated? *Slavery Times in Kentucky* points the way to a realistic appraisal of an old subject.

Lafayette College

CLEMENT EATON

Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands. By Mason Crum. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xv, 351. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Along the Atlantic Coast between the mouths of the Cooper and the Savannah rivers stretches a chain of islands separated from the mainland by a maze of tidal creeks and patches of marsh. This is the Carolina low country, a region of palmetto, moss-draped live oaks, and Negroes—some of them Gullah. Professor Crum's book describes the country and its Negro inhabitants.

The Gullah is so called because he is a descendant either of Gola or Angola slave forebears. (Professor Crum accepts the "Gola theory.") He is characterized by his unique form of speech which is described as "English along the lines of least resistance" to which have been added, or retained, a dozen or so African words. Many of these Angola or Gola Negroes were brought to Charleston and sold as slaves; thence they were shipped to the rice and cotton plantations along the coast. Today their descendants live in a state of semi-isolation in this same region, retaining a certain amount of their provincial patois. To them a white man is "buckra," to eat is "nyam," a turtle is a "cooter," a peanut is a "pinda," and an evil spirit is a "plat-eye."

Professor Crum's book deals not only with the dialect of these people but also with their geographic region, their songs, their religion, and their way of life in general. The author writes of these things as they are today and as they were in the ante-bellum period. Interwoven into the account are comments on slavery in other regions of the South, one whole chapter being devoted to the hardships of slavery. Added to this chapter, as well as to other sections of the book, are certain personal observations of the author which cast some doubt upon the objectivity of his viewpoint. For example, the statement that riding patrol on slaves "often degenerated into sporting expeditions" or that slavery was "doomed through its own inherent wickedness" might be open to question.

The sources cited are largely secondary. The author has drawn heavily upon the writings of Gonzales, Stoney, Bassett, and Phillips, as well as upon the printed diaries and travel notes of many Yankees who came South after the Civil War to uplift the Negro. Recent newspaper and periodical material is also included along with data from standard histories and monographs in the field. The work at times resembles a job of editing rather than one of creative writing, for the author has resorted to the plan of quoting long excerpts from his sources and tying them together, at times rather loosely, with certain explanatory statements. The chief value of the book probably lies in the fact that the

author has assembled in one volume a considerable amount of pertinent material (perhaps all that is necessary for the lay reader) on the Gullah Negro. To represent the work as a definitive social history of the lowland Negro is probably going a bit too far. One could read this book along with Gonzales' *Black Border* and have, I think, a fairly comprehensive picture of the Gullah and his quaint philosophy, folklore, and language. The nature of the material does not lend itself well to indexing, and thus the author omitted this ordinarily valuable part of a book.

Armstrong Junior College

J. P. DYER

Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina. By John Harold Wolfe. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xi, 308. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

This thorough and scholarly study throws new light on the politics of South Carolina in the early national period. Professor Wolfe concludes that the political faith of South Carolina was predominately Jeffersonian from the ratification of the Constitution through the War of 1812. Only after a painstaking analysis of the work of the state legislature and of the votes and speeches of South Carolina's representatives in Congress during the period does the writer offer conclusions which differ from the generally accepted view that the Federalists dominated the state's politics before 1800 and continued to be extremely influential thereafter.

Professor Wolfe accepts the opinion that the most important contribution of Jeffersonian Democracy to political life is confidence in majority rule. One has reason to doubt that South Carolina followed Jefferson in this fundamental principle. Although the legislature went through the motions of following the Jeffersonian theory of public education, it is admitted that the education act of 1811 "in practice did not measure up to democratic tenets." Jefferson's ideas in regard to slavery received scant consideration and no support in South Carolina. However, as long as the Jefferson movement remained agrarian, South Carolina was Jeffersonian in national politics.

The writer is careful not to resort to the very dubious practice of exalting the followers of Jefferson by disparaging the Federalists. A word of praise should be given for the unbiased analysis of the merits of that much maligned South Carolinian, Charles Pinckney. Local newspapers, particularly the *Charleston City Gazette*, were used extensively. Criticism may be made of the writer for drawing too many conclusions concerning national affairs from local newspapers.

It would seem that South Carolina was fundamentally opposed to the economic program of the Federalists, and this brought a gradual swing to the agrarian policies of the Jeffersonians. Opposition was accelerated by Washington's message to Congress on November 24, 1794, in which he criticized the

activities of the pro-French societies in South Carolina, and by the very unpopular Jay Treaty. Further, the rejection by the Senate of the appointment of John Rutledge as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court certainly did not aid the Federalist cause in South Carolina.

This reviewer noted as relatively inconsequential defects only a few typographical errors. The index is inadequate and not properly alphabetized. These imperfections, however, do not materially affect the value of this study. The system of footnoting is excellent and judging from those which were verified, are trustworthy. Professor Wolfe has made a real contribution, not only on the period discussed, but has cast a new light on the politics of South Carolina in the Jackson era as well.

Clemson College

R. CASPER WALKER

Red Carolinians. By Chapman J. Milling. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xxi, 438. Illustrations, bibliography, map. \$4.00.)

Red Carolinians is a book about the Indian tribes that lived in South Carolina or so closely on its borders as to affect its life and history. After a chapter on general characteristics the author considers the tribes separately and sketches the history of each one until the appointed time of extinction, removal, or amalgamation with another tribe. As basis for his account he gives a bibliography of fifteen pages which has as its kernel the manuscript Indian Books and the Journals of the South Carolina Assembly and Council. Extensive documentation reveals that these sources and authorities have been diligently exploited. So far as the fringing tribes of Creek and Cherokee are concerned not much has been added to the accounts of Swanton and Crane, of Mooney and Royce. The Creek, indeed, are given scant attention but the Cherokee are allotted one hundred and twenty pages and never abandoned until they are safe on the Qualla Reservation or removed beyond the Mississippi—the latter location being a considerable distance from Carolina, red or otherwise. In connection with the Cherokee, the reviewer somewhat wonders at the omission of Brown's *Old Frontiers* from the bibliography, although the use of it could not have altered materially the tenor of the tale. The most valuable part of the book is that dealing with the interior tribes of South Carolina. These were Siouan and the history and organization of the eastern Siouan tribes have always constituted a blind spot in our ethnological picture. The author, therefore, is here blazing a new trail and his account is a definite contribution to knowledge. The history of each of the lesser Siouan tribes is given and there is an extended account of the Catawba with which they all finally amalgamated.

Some things the reader might naturally expect in this book he will look for in vain. There is very little on the Indian trade although the author must have had a great amount of material available in the sources he used. Nor is there

any definite description of the internal organization of the tribes. Such an account is greatly needed for the Siouan tribes and much remains to be done on the Cherokee. The Red Carolinians have been viewed from without. This is perhaps inevitable since the only sources are white sources and not red.

The style of the book is easy and pleasant and the author seems to be writing in full sympathy with the Indians he describes. Only occasionally, however, is there a trace of the hot indignation such as marked (and disfigured) *A Century of Dishonor*. The reader will probably wish for a more detailed map than the one on the covers of the book. This map decorates the book more than it delineates the country.

Florida State College for Women

R. S. COTTERILL

The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863. Volume III, December 20, 1822-January 31, 1844. Edited by Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi, 546. \$3.25.)

With the exception of nine documents belonging to the period covered by Volumes I and II, the material presented in this volume falls within the period from April 1, 1842, to January 31, 1844. When it is recalled that the first volume covers twenty-three years, and that the time range of the second is five years and three months, this sharp reduction to a range of twenty-two months becomes significant, and perhaps ominous. Even if the average annual product of Houston's pen should prove to have been reduced by half for the remaining twenty years of his career, its publication would far exceed the six-volume limit which was originally announced. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the plan is sufficiently elastic to permit the completion of the work, regardless of the number of volumes required.

The fact that these documents fall entirely within the period of Houston's second administration as president of the Republic of Texas probably accounts for the increase in bulk. Most of them are of an official character, and, although many deal with routine matters, the general impression which one gains from the group as a whole is that they lay the basis for a more adequate study of this critical period in Texas history than has heretofore been possible. Of more than five hundred documents presented here, less than one hundred have previously appeared in print in any form, and only fifteen are to be found in any reasonably accessible printed work. A few were printed in William Carey Crane's *Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston* (1885) or in Anson Jones' *Memo-randa and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas* (1859), both of which have long been out of print. About twenty-five appeared in the printed journals of the Texas Congress and about thirty in contemporary Texan newspapers, where they are almost as remote from the reach of the average research student as are the official manuscripts. While the major part of the manuscript material has been found in the Texas State Archives at Austin, many of

the most important documents come from personal or semiofficial collections in various parts of Texas and many others from collections scattered from St. Louis, Missouri, to Washington, D. C.

The real significance of this particular group of letters and messages lies in the fact that they constitute the nearest approach that has ever been made to a complete presentation of Houston's concept of the best means for promoting the welfare of Texas during his second term of service as its president. Not only do they reveal the difficulties inherited from the Lamar administration, but they also indicate that while Houston was still influenced by personal prejudices he was better able than during his first administration to understand the implications of those difficulties and that he approached them with a greater degree of statesmanship. In other words, it is possible to see him growing in stature, and a careful reading of these documents leads to the conclusion that the point of view of his enemies has received more emphasis than it has deserved in the generalizations presented by historians on this period of Texas history. In this connection perhaps one of the most striking contributions in this volume is the appearance in its complete form of Houston's letter of January 24, 1843, to Captain Charles Elliot, the British chargé d'affaires in Texas (pp. 299-302), which has at last been made available through the courtesy of members of the family. This letter alone does much to clear Houston of the charges of indifference to the fate of Texas and the Texans which were made by his enemies on the basis of garbled excerpts from it, used entirely apart from the context. It is to be hoped that this release is an indication that his descendants are now disposed to permit the publication of the remainder of his correspondence which has so long been inaccessible.

The editorial work maintains a high level of judgment and accuracy. The biographical notes continue to furnish a wealth of information on individuals, although they are less numerous than in the earlier volumes. This is to be expected, because many of the individuals have already received ample explanatory notation as they appear in connection with earlier correspondence. The excellence and the significance of this volume serve to increase both our sense of indebtedness to the editors and the sponsors of the work and our eagerness to see the remaining volumes completed.

Vanderbilt University

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

The Old Bay Line, 1840-1940. By Alexander Crosby Brown (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1940. Pp. xxiii, 176. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix. \$2.50.)

Last summer the reviewer happened to sample four of the major methods of transportation within ten days, going from New York to Chicago by train and back by plane, and then from New York to Portland by motor and back by steamer. The boat trip was the pleasantest of the four. There are still plenty

of us who, when time permits, will take the opportunity to stretch our legs on deck at leisure and sleep with the salt air coming through the stateroom window of a coastal steamship. To all such, this book will have a particular appeal. It likewise fits an important niche in the history of Chesapeake Bay and of American transportation.

This is a comprehensive, interesting, and well-wrought story of the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, popularly known as the "Old Bay Line," whose white steamers for exactly a hundred years have sailed each night from Baltimore and from Norfolk for the 185-mile bay run between the two cities. In the course of the century the wooden sidewheelers, like the original 551-ton *Georgia* which cost \$32,000, gradually gave way to propeller and steel. The 1,814-ton *President Warfield*, built in 1928, cost nearly a million dollars. The transportation of passengers and freight between the two cities, however, remained essentially the same. The line formed an important link in transportation between North and South, with rail connections at either end.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Mariner's Museum at Newport News has handled the difficult task well. There is a danger that such a work might degenerate into a dreary catalogue of vessels or into mere nostalgic reminiscences. He has steered an intelligent course between these two extremes. Whoever wants statistics of tonnage, cost, and service of the various vessels will find them in the appendix, while the atmosphere of travel conditions is re-created clearly but with more restraint than in McAdams' *Old Fall River Line*. In addition, there is constant intelligent analysis to show why there was good business for the line at some times and poor at others, with consideration of competition not only on the bay run itself, but also with railroad and automobile as time went on. Well-appointed steamers, skillful deck officers, and excellent food all contributed to the line's century of success. Accidents were rare, and one vivid chapter tells how a steamer was brought safely through a terrific hurricane. The line was in its heyday about a half century ago; one does not miss the overornate interior furnishings so much as the dollar table d'hôte with Mobjack Bay oysters, diamondback terrapin, canvasback duck, quail, Norfolk spot, turkey, and all that. Recalling the history of the Sound and Hudson lines, one is surprised at the absence of mention of scarlet women among the regular passengers; perhaps Bay conditions were different; perhaps the author was too chivalrous to mention them.

The book is brought out under the joint auspices of the Old Bay Line and the Mariner's Museum. The typography, illustrations, and all other features of the make-up are admirable. One hopes that some of the other coastal steamship lines may be the subjects of similar excellent treatment while there are still men living who can contribute their personal experiences as part of the story.

The Baltimore Clearing House. By Charles A. Hales. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. xiii, 347. Bibliography, appendices. \$3.00.)

This study, originally presented as a doctoral dissertation, traces the development of the Baltimore Clearing House from its origin in 1858 to 1940. In thoughtful, clear, and at times analytical style the author makes good use of his materials, which are almost entirely of a primary type. Every page has its due share of footnotes representing items in the minutes of the Clearing House from its organization, except for a short while in 1917 and 1918; minutes of the Executive Committee since 1904; minutes of several banks in existence before 1900; and a great number of other records that had been supposedly burned but which the author unearthed in his research. Six appendices present further information from the same type of sources. In selecting and interpreting his vast amount of material Dr. Hales has done a good piece of historical pioneering.

Baltimore is the youngest of the great commercial cities on the Atlantic seaboard, but by 1858 she had waxed and changed so that her banking institutions found their primitive methods of making daily exchange very cumbersome. After due deliberation Baltimore bankers organized for mutual assistance to settle daily exchanges and balances. The Baltimore Clearing House was created just five years after the New York Clearing House. Besides developing satisfactory methods for daily business settlements the group exercised joint action in times of crises twice during the 1860's and in 1873, 1893, 1907, 1914, and 1933; gave mutual aid to weak members in ordinary times; and operated in regulating the banking business in their city. The history of the major activities of the Association is very similar to that of any clearinghouse with only particular details differing according to Baltimore's situation. More specific details and regulations incidental to the dynamic development in the financial world, as the clearing position of nonmembers, the status of trust companies, relations to the Federal Reserve Banks, and the question of banking hours, were carefully considered and acted upon by the Association.

So important does the co-operation and mutual assistance of member and nonmember banks working through the Clearing House seem to the author that he concludes: "Probably more can be accomplished towards the encouragement of sound banking by such cooperation than by bank examinations or government regulations" (p. 308). This is obviously a very debatable statement and most likely would be considered so by Dr. Hales himself since he has carefully reported an account of the close co-operation of the Baltimore Clearing House with the Federal and Maryland governments during the banking crisis of 1933.

This book is freighted with solid information. It should prove to be an interesting volume to the students of American economic history or of money and

banking. Exceptionally pertinent is the description of the daily activity at the Clearing House and the historical account of the crisis days in 1933; even more so is its contribution to the study of the American clearinghouse in which field little work has been done to date.

University of Chattanooga

JAMES W. LIVINGOOD

The Flight from the Flag: The Continuing Effect of the Civil War upon the American Carrying Trade. By George W. Dalzell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xviii, 292. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Mr. Dalzell, a textwriter and lecturer on maritime law, has found time from an active law practice to write a spicy book of sea adventure. To be sure, he has a thesis and a lesson. He says that his purpose is "to review briefly" the activities of the Confederate cruisers and then to "indicate the nature of the permanent consequences" of their work. He prefaces that he has "a Yankee background . . . obscured by a nonpolitical residence of many years in Washington," and has "no conscious emotional reaction to the Civil War except impartial grief." Nevertheless, three fourths of his book deals with the raiders rather than the commerce raided, deals with them painstakingly, wittily, sympathetically.

In the opening chapter the author—taking for his text a line from *The Winter's Tale*, "A course more promising than a wild dedication of yourselves to unpathed waters, undreamed shores,"—provides backgrounds economic and political and definitions maritime, which should be welcome to the general reader and an interesting refresher to the historical student and the savant of the sea. Then follow nine chapters on the *Sumter*, the *Nashville*, the ways and means of the Confederate States government and its naval policy, the *Florida* and her offspring (a veritable covey of little cruisers converted from prizes), the *Alabama* and her one child the *Tuscaloosa*, the great naval duel off Cherbourg on June 19, 1864, the *Georgia* and the *Rappahannock*, the two Wilmington cruisers (the *Tallahassee* and the *Chicamauga*), and finally the *Shenandoah* and the postwar havoc she played among the Pacific whalers. In these chapters the writer has apparently sought to entertain the reader with lively accounts and satisfactory explanations rather than to write a complete naval history of the Confederacy on the high seas. There are some details new to the reviewer and some familiar details are absent; there are pertinent commentaries on commerce, economics, and international law. The tale of the *Shenandoah* is concluded without giving the date and hour (November 6, 1865, 10 A.M.) of the final lowering of her flag, the last symbol of a living Confederacy. There are a few minor points which might be challenged, but on the great by and large the work is highly satisfactory.

In Chapter XI, "Geneva," the international aftermath of the Confederate *guerre de course* is briefly told. Then we come to the title chapter, "The Flight from the Flag," in which Mr. Dalzell not only describes the depressing effect of Confederate operations on the foreign commerce of the United States, the efforts of shipowners to save their vessels by transfer to foreign registry, the panicky disappearance of the Stars and Stripes from world carrying trade, but also attempts to discover why the flag thus driven from the sea did not return after the war. American shipping was reduced to a low estate during the War of 1812, but immediately recovered. He examines seven reasons why no similar recovery followed 1865: (1) The diversion of capital in the development of the West; (2) the blooming of industrial corporations and holding companies, investment in whose shares was much simpler and safer than part ownership in a vessel; (3) the greater opportunities offered labor in factories than in the forecastles of ships; (4) the absorption of seafaring folk in the enlarged navy; (5) the adverse effect of the protective tariff policy; (6) the lead already gained by the British in applying iron and steam to ocean transportation (the American superiority at sea had been that of wood and sail); and (7) the liberalization of British navigation laws and the surplus of foreign tonnage at the close of the war. He concludes that "some of the causes of the failure to recover were in operation before the war and had begun to send American shipping into a decline. The work of the cruisers was to accomplish by catastrophe what might otherwise have come about through a long decrepitude. . . . Looking backward with the proverbial advantage of retrospect it is easy to see that this was the moment when government aid promptly bestowed could have saved the American carrying trade. . . . Unfortunately it was a time when government aid was politically impossible." Although the government enacted postal subvention laws in 1891 and 1928, and built many ships in frantic haste during the World War, it was not until 1936 that the United States adopted a comprehensive policy of making public funds available "to equalize the building and operating costs of American ships with those of foreigners." At the outbreak of the present war this country stood fourth in world tonnage, sixth in average speed, and seventh in newness of vessels. The carrying resources of Great Britain exceeded those of any four other maritime powers combined.

The lesson in the mind of the writer as developed in Chapter XIII, "The Lesson," is epitomized in the two following paragraphs:

"If the case for a national merchant marine be regarded as established, we are near the end of our lesson but not quite there. In order to operate, ships must have something to carry both ways. This is the very core of any discussion of shipping policies. The subject cannot be pursued here, beyond what

had been said, because it opens the whole field of the tariff, reciprocal trade agreements, and inland transport. The reader must carry on for himself.

"A merchant marine is needed to keep us out of wars other than our own; to implement our Navy; to promote our foreign markets and increase our trade; to provide employment and wages for labor in the many industries that contribute to the building and operation of ships and the production, inland transportation, and distribution of the goods that come and go in them; to put idle capital as well as idle men to work in productive industry; in sum, to contribute to the safety and welfare of the United States."

Norfolk Navy Yard

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

A Man Named Grant. By Helen Todd. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. Pp. x, 598. Illustrations, map. \$3.50.)

The blurb on this volume announces that "This new type of biography is the first non-fiction book to receive the Literary Fellowship Award," under the rules of a contest sponsored by the publishers. Historical specialists in the Civil War years probably will wish to question the nonfictional character of some passages, especially those which are contrived by parading a succession of incomplete sentences through Grant's mind as he contemplates his past ere taking the next step over the threshold of significant tomorrows. Likewise, readers who have been privileged to sit often at the richly and variously laden banquet table of recent biographical offerings may experience some difficulty in delineating the "new" qualities of this work.

In many ways it is a "run-of-the-mine" effort. A limited amount of new "antiquarian-type" source material has been used to decorate an interesting rehash of readily available secondary accounts. The scene opens in 1861; thus the previous career of "Ulyss" (the name strongly preferred by the author) can be sandwiched in only with the help of the General's periodic and very convenient moments of retrospect. The first act of the drama moves majestically through four years of toil and frustration to the high point of military victory at Appomattox. True, the figures moving about the stage do seem human and much accurate detail on both men and measures adorns the tale. Grant's relations with his subordinates, notably Rawlins and Sherman, are presented in a charming fashion. Surprisingly intelligent analyses of problems of strategy are also incorporated; but even in disgrace Grant has the air of a hero who will yet triumph.

In the chapters on Reconstruction, the presidency, and the years as ex-president, world traveler, and businessman, the performance moves through the second and third acts to climax and denouement. In these pages, however, historical realism is not diluted by wishful mysticism. In fact, the author is one

of the few literary political biographers who has sensed the robust yet ugly "climate" of those years, and what is more has put it all down in straightforward prose that all who read will understand. Why this startling difference between the early and later pages of the book? Is it because Grant the military hero is surrounded with such a fog of tradition that few can pierce it? Can it be true that Grant in later years is a much less epic character and thus the story must come down to earth and forego the usual dramatic diversions? Possibly so, but a glance at the preface and a study of both the organization and the materials used confirm the suspicion that some good fairy led the author to the recent sterling scholarship of W. B. Hesseltine in his *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* and Allan Nevins' *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*. These brilliant studies, and possibly John Russell Young's *Around the World with General Grant* form the backbone of a truly absorbing and competent popular biography of Grant's later years.

Of what value is a book possessing such contradictory virtues? True, the early years would serve as a gold mine for preachers wishing to point a moral or for lecturers addressing a ladies guild. Yet, the last half of the study is sufficiently substantial to serve as recommended reading for undergraduates and all nonspecialists of the period who wish to acquire a rapid yet painless overview of important phases of American development, 1865-1880. So the answer seems to be, here it is, take it or leave it.

Wilson Teachers College

ALBERT V. HOUSE, JR.

Captain Lee Hall of Texas. By Dora Neill Raymond. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. Pp. xiii, 350. Illustrations, map. \$2.75.)

Texas of the 1870's and early 1880's was one of the last heroic frontiers of America. To the normal experiences of a pioneer region were added the great cattle drives, the final subjugation of the plains Indian, the establishment of a workable border policy with Mexico, the conflict between ranchman and farmer, cattle barons and railroad tycoons on the make, and the heritage, in part from the Civil War, of feuds, bandits, and, generally, lawlessness. Lee Hall's firm hands touched all of these problems.

Hall was neither the most important nor the most colorful of the peace officers who have defended Texas, but none possessed in greater degree the qualities of courage and dependability that have made the Texas Ranger legendary. The life of no other person would yield a better understanding of the final conquest of the Texas frontier.

In relating her subject to his time, Mrs. Raymond had to use a great mass of legend and fact. In portraying a life that dealt with such knaves and heroes as Sam Bass, Ben Thompson, King Fisher, Quanah Parker, O. Henry, Aguin-aldo, Leonard Wood, and Theodore Roosevelt, she had to step lightly not

to injure truth. Legend is used, but usually when it is truer than fact. In dealing with Hall's personal life, however, particularly of his early days in North Carolina and of his later days as a broken man who could not provide for his family, the author is sentimental and not convincing.

The chapters that are crisp and clear are of Hall's life as a fighting man: The description of frontier Denison is fresh and colorful; the four years he was a Texas Ranger are packed with incidents for a score of novels; his short life as a ranchman had a notable influence on the young O. Henry; his service as Indian agent is an indictment of politics and red tape. As if this were not enough for one life, Hall added a comic chapter in his experiences during the Spanish-American War, an exotic one in his chase of Aguinaldo, and a final tragic one of a man who lived past his time.

Except for W. P. Webb's masterful *The Texas Rangers* and a handful of personal narratives, the author works in unplowed ground. As a description of Texas frontier life for the period that Hall was a part of it, the book is naturally incomplete, but, even so, it is one of the best that we have. Besides making a thorough study of the official documents, newspapers, and the scant secondary sources, the writer used the extensive materials preserved by Captain Hall's daughter. There are hundreds of footnotes, a good index, but no bibliography.

San Jacinto Museum of History

IKE MOORE

Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940. Pp. ix, 334. Chart. \$3.00.)

This personal story of his life by the most widely known Negro intellectual in America does not purport to be a history of his own times except in an incidental way. As the subtitle indicates it is primarily a sociological study of race and race relations. Perhaps it is better so, for in his past writing of conventional history Dr. Du Bois frequently has been so overwhelmed with the importance of his general theme that he has had insufficient patience to trouble himself overmuch about his factual details. This was true of his *Black Reconstruction* and of his biography of John Brown. A typical petty error of the sort is to be found on page eight of this book, where the writer states that he was born on February 23, 1868, and then goes on to say: "Less than a month after my birth Andrew Johnson passed from the scene and Ulysses Grant became President of the United States." Surely Dr. Du Bois is aware that he should have said "just over a year" instead of "less than a month."

Now such little errors as this, while certainly of no great consequence in themselves, unduly annoy us pedantic historians, but are passed over quite unnoticed by sociologists intent only on the broader and more profound sig-

nificance of cultural history. Likewise, a sociologist who has not delved into the petty details of a historical period might accept as entirely within the bounds of logic and reason another statement on the same page: "Conventions in 1868 with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South: and two groups of laborers—freed slaves and poor whites—dominated the former slave states." This statement, if erroneous, should be serious even to the cultural sociologist. As a matter of fact, just about all the documentary evidence which has come to my notice fails to show that any considerable number of poor whites supported Reconstruction either in the conventions and legislatures (where very few of them ever sat), or out of such bodies. Logically perhaps they should have done so had they been properly indoctrinated in Marxian dialectic, but the available data indicate that the poor (misguided) whites were extremely zealous in their antagonism to Reconstruction and all its works. And while the freed slaves supported Reconstruction and furnished most of the votes for the Radicals, the truth is that the former slave states were dominated by Carpetbaggers, Scalawags (mainly not "poor whites" in the ordinary connotation of the phrase), and "Talented Tenth" Negroes, who in considerable numbers came down from the North.

To what extent these gentry were motivated by personal ambition and greed, by a sincere desire to uplift the downtrodden (black and white) of the South, and by the necessity of fulfilling the expectations of their creators—the Radical Republicans and their own exploiting capitalist supporters—is a very moot question. To this question Dr. Du Bois has made his own contribution in *Black Reconstruction* and we respect, if we do not wholly agree with, his conclusions. On the other hand, he has a rather poor opinion of southern historians in general and of the late Ulrich B. Phillips in particular. In fact, the by no means ignoble soul which this book reveals, appears to have become seared in the first place by the failure of intellectual whites fully to appreciate the just claims of "Talented Tenth" Negroes. The natural resentment which white neglect aroused among Negro intellectuals and a few white sympathizers was an influential factor in bringing about the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the establishment of *The Crisis* magazine in 1910. With both of these Dr. Du Bois was closely associated for almost a quarter century. He maintains that his labors did much to correct the glaring misconception, generally held thirty years ago, that Negroes are inherently inferior to whites. But the nobility of his soul would not permit him (as was the case with many of his associates) to confine his efforts to this one struggle. He wanted to commit both the Association and the magazine to the greater task of uplifting by radical means all Negroes everywhere. On this issue he broke with his Board in 1934 and returned to Atlanta University where he had previously taught. Here he finds "the chance for quiet contemplation and the intellectual life considerable" despite the fact that the South's

"civilization is decidedly lower than that of the North," and that its "caste system based on color, fortified in law and even more deeply entrenched in custom, meets and coerces the dark man at nearly every step—in trains, in street cars, in elevators, in offices, in education, in recreation, in religion and in graveyards" (p. 316).

We are all caught in the tragedy inherent in the conflict between democratic theory and autocratic practice. It manifests itself along many lines other than race, and while sensitive souls among Negroes feel it most keenly, none of us escapes altogether.

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina B. B. KENDRICK

American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd. By Members of the Americana Club of Duke University. Edited by David Kelly Jackson. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. ix, 377. Frontispiece. \$4.00.)

Some years before the death of William Kenneth Boyd, that distinguished man of letters gathered a number of colleagues from the faculty of Duke University into an informal organization calling itself the Americana Club. The group met at a monthly dinner after which one of them discussed some topic of the American past. When the leading spirit of this coterie passed away his associates decided to assemble a volume from the papers used or developed at their meetings.

Not only has the scholarship of Professor Boyd been commemorated in this volume but also a bit of the flavor of his mind. As well as being a renowned student he was, as the preface states it, "an inveterate gossip about the life led by residents in the Old South." His interest had a wide range as, indeed, has the subject matter of this volume in his honor because each friend has written of what had attracted him most. The only unity of the book is that it is entirely devoted to southern life and thought and that its authors are all members of the Americana Club. Eight contributions make up the volume—although the Club has more than eight members. They are as follows: Joseph J. Spengler, "The Political Economy of Jefferson, Madison, and Adams"; William Alexander Mabry, "Ante-Bellum Cincinnati and Its Southern Trade"; Charles S. Sydnor, "State Geological Surveys in the Old South"; Edgar T. Thompson, "The Natural History of Agricultural Labor in the South"; Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South"; Charles Roberts Anderson, "Charles Gayarré and Paul Hayne; The Last Literary Cavaliers"; David K. Jackson, "Philip Pendleton Cooke; Virginia Gentleman, Lawyer, Hunter, and Poet"; and Clarence Gohdes, "Some Notes on the Unitarian Church in the Ante-Bellum South: A Contribution to the History of Southern Liberalism." Their subjects represent the fields of interest of each since all are not historians. For example, three articles on southern literary history are written by scholars

in English; that on the history of agricultural labor by a sociologist; and that dealing with the political economy of three of the founding fathers by an economist. This fact gives a refreshing variety to the subjects discussed.

With the exception of the "Political Economy of Jefferson, Madison, and Adams" and "Charles Gayarré and Paul Hayne: The Last Literary Cavaliers," all the articles are devoted to aspects of the ante-bellum period. The first exception noted above dates itself; the second lies in the closing years of the nineteenth century and deals with the efforts of two literati of the *ancien régime*, as they express it, to stem the tide of a more modern and critical approach to southern questions by means of scathing oratory and invective. To the reviewer this was an especially interesting article.

Space does not permit detailed accounts of separate papers. They are all carefully written and adequately footnoted. They all display that spirit of research which seeks not to glorify nor to endorse but rather to find out and evaluate. Southern scholars have had to struggle against tendencies to over-idealize their region. These eight writers have succeeded admirably in this respect. It is difficult to make a selection of excellence among them. The reader must do that according to the direction of his own interests.

Florida State College for Women

KATHRYN T. ABBEY

Historie de la Louisiane Française, 1673-1939. Par Emile Lauvrière. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. Pp. 445. Illustrations, bibliography, maps. \$3.00.)

A distinct and valuable contribution to the already long but unfortunately incomplete history of early Louisiana is Dr. Emile Lauvrière's new work just issued by the Louisiana State University Press as No. 3 in the *Romance Language Series*. It is a most ambitious volume, for it seeks to imprison between two covers of one book the history of French Louisiana from 1678, when La Salle took over the heart of the North American continent in the name of Louis XIV, to the present day—to say the least, rather a tax on 445 pages.

The probabilities are it will not be as widely read as it deserves to be because it is printed in the author's native French tongue. In spite of this restriction it will prove a very useful guide to the location of certain data in the *Bibliothèque National*, *Archives des Colonies, de la Marine*, and *des Affaires Etrangères* to which M. Lauvrière has had free access, and it is from these historic documents that he quotes freely and to the point throughout his book to make it authoritative.

The first pages are given over to the early explorations of the Spaniards from 1512 to 1543, with brief references to Hernando de Soto, Luis de Moscoso, Panfilo de Narvaez, Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda, and to what these intrepid Castilians accomplished; to the descent of the Mississippi by Father

Marquette and Louis Jolliet in 1763, the two who did not reach the territory we now name as the state of Louisiana; and the heroic voyage down the Father of the Waters by Robert Cavalier and Henri Tonti in 1768 to discover the many mouths of the Mississippi spewing their muddy waters into the clear blue-green of the Mexic Gulf.

It is in the second chapter, devoted to Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, that the history of French Louisiana really begins, for in these pages we have the story of the Le Moyne family, the initial settlement at Biloxi, the first canoe voyages up the Mississippi, the appointment of Sauvole as first governor, the death of Iberville, and the taking over of the colony by the younger Le Moyne.

The following chapters are devoted to the Sieur de Bienville, and in them the author appears biased when dealing with this glamorous historic figure for he has exhumed a lot of new material, at least new as far as many of us are concerned, which does not flatter the founder of New Orleans. As a matter of cold fact, in the author's preface we find a statement which smears Bienville's reputation.

Dr. Lauvrière states in his *avant-propos* that he has drawn his information from the sources themselves, found in Colonial, Marine, and Foreign Affairs archives in Paris, and in reading from the original documents his minute researches uncovered "certain portions of our history" which are "new in their revelations." He confesses it is "painful" for him to bring into the open "the example of gradual perversion, in a corrupt atmosphere, furnished to us by a man who to this day, has always been overrated—Bienville. His fatal influence has contributed not a little to the evil disposition made manifest by the administration and the colonial population, and even to an irreparable disaster." The other discovery, which he admits is as "comforting" to him as his exposé of Bienville is painful, is "the rehabilitation of that 'elite body,' the military engineers, especially Adrien de Pauger, to whom is due, a fact too much ignored, the founding of New Orleans, and, consequently, access, as valuable as easy, to the entire valley of the Mississippi."

The painstaking researches M. Lauvrière made in the French National Archives are reflected in his chapter on the foundation of New Orleans and they bring new light upon the moot question as to whether the Crescent City was founded in 1717 or 1718. His documentary proof shows that the magazine-guard Bonnaud was appointed to his post October 1, 1717; that Captain d'Avril was made major of the place on December 31, 1717, "for the settlement to be established at New Orleans"; that by April 23, 1718, their emoluments of office were increased, as well as those of the new city's surgeon and gunsmith; and that sixty-eight inhabitants were designated at this time for the future capital of Louisiana. The author, however, does not go as thoroughly into the details of this important phase of Louisiana's history as did Baron

Marc de Villiers in his splendid *A History of the Foundation of New Orleans (1717-1722)*.

The engineer Adrien de Pauger is given full credit for his enterprise in laying out the first narrow streets of New Orleans, as might be suspected after reading the prefatory note, and some new sidelights on the difficulties Pauger faced in his work are quoted from archival matter not heretofore appearing in print. This particular part of the book proves to be intensely interesting, as the author is partial to Pauger, and well he should be, but he chooses the opportunity to take pot shots at Bienville while praising the surveyor who carried out the commands of the founder of New Orleans.

It should be pointed out that one criticism of M. Lauvrière's *Histoire de la Louisiane Française* is that it is sketchy in treating important events coupled with the history of the province, when we would know more or all of the writings he quotes. This lack of detail was brought about, so it seems to me, because of the author's desire to include everything that happened between 1673 and 1739, a task even beyond the efforts of a ten-foot bookshelf. This becomes apparent when Lauvrière's work is compared to Pierre Heinrich's *Louisiana Under the Company of the Indies*, from which Lauvrière frequently quotes. There are very few quotations from Baron de Villier's work, however, and fewer references to matters the Baron revealed.

Those portions of Lauvrière's history of French Louisiana dealing with posts and concessions up and down the Mississippi have all been covered and at greater length by Heinrich's history of the Company of the Indies; and Juchereau de Saint Denis' explorations and those of other French adventures likewise have had fuller treatment in Dumont's *mémoires* and *historiques*.

In devoting a number of pages to his picture of Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, and the part the Sieur de Bienville played in founding the colony, the author does not paint a very flattering portrait, at least not the likeness we have heretofore known. "Here is posed the serious question of Bienville," he writes, "for it is fitting that a close study be made of the much contested part—in fact, very contestable—played by a man in certain respects superior, who because of his high station and his long sojourn there influences much of the destinies of Louisiana. . . . Intelligent and able, he seems to have had the interests of the colony at heart at first, although he was never a man to neglect his own; ambitious, greedy, dissembling, he soon ceased to be content with the simple functions of commandant-general, then of president of the council of the colony, and of the superior council successively given him, he aspired to the title of governor." When this office was not immediately given him, M. Lauvrière charges: "Finally his bitterness even soured into a cold and sly cynicism before the demoralizing spectacle of the greatest mistakes, even criminal in fact, which for fifteen years, Crozat and Law, the Company of the West and

the Indies, never ceased to make, as much through the absurdity of their decisions as though the incapacity of representatives they had stupidly chosen."

Certainly, the material chosen on Bienville does not show him to advantage, as the translator Henri de Sinclair points out, but the quoted opinions of Bienville's contemporaries should be read and weighed for whatever they may be worth, and we should be thankful to M. Lauvrière for exhuming them from the dusty archives and letting us see them.

As a whole this work is most instructive and is well documented by parenthetical notes in the text rather than by dropping these authorities to the bottom of the page as footnotes—a welcome innovation. Unquestionably this new work gives a valuable bird's-eye view of the early period of the province even if its abbreviated length, considering the wealth of material at hand, is taken into consideration. A word must be given to the illustrations, especially the reproductions of early maps. While we have seen some of them before, still these are new to most of us interested in the settlement of this section of the United States.

Naturally, this is a "must" book for any library interested in Louisiana.

Federal Archives Survey

STANLEY CLISBY ARTHUR

Tennessee: A Political Study. By William H. Combs and William E. Cole. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1940. Pp. xi, 353. Bibliography, charts, maps. \$2.00.)

In a brief foreword President James D. Hoskins says the purpose of this book is twofold: first, an "attempt to bring together . . . pertinent information relative to . . . the political structure" of Tennessee, and second, "to improve the administration of governmental practices." These two purposes are well carried out. The able and qualified authors have produced an analytical and chronological discussion of government in Tennessee from the territorial days to the present. They do more than write a history of government; they point out weaknesses and propose remedies. They argue for their remedies in such a calm (one slight exception), factual, and persuasive manner that they are convincing.

The first five chapters offer a clear-cut and challenging description of constitutional development (development in spite of no amendments since 1870), elections, the general assembly, and the governorship. Then follows a three-chapter discussion on personnel, justice, and finances. A third group of chapters deal with such state activities as education, welfare, health, miscellaneous service, and planning. Finally, there is an excellent chapter on local rural government. One regrets that an equally able chapter on municipal government was not included.

The book, although designed for Tennesseans (and should be read by all Tennesseans), might well appeal to a wider field, for numerous comparisons of institutions and functions with similar activities in other states tend to make the book a general discussion on state government. The work is well documented, and the index is adequate.

Such a work meets a real need because few people realize the immense increase in governmental activities and personnel during recent years. As an example of this increase, Tennessee employed 2,100 persons in the entire state government in 1922, whereas in 1938 the highway department alone employed 3,300. Similar increases are the rule because of services now demanded of government. Tennesseans and people generally do not comprehend the extent of the change and consequently do not realize the need for a merit system or civil service.

This book is the first from the University of Tennessee Press. The mechanics are well done; the book is pleasing to look at, well bound, and the typography is good.

Maryville College

VERTON M. QUEENER

Historical News and Notices

The seventh annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will convene in Atlanta, Georgia, November 6-8, 1941. The Committee on Local Arrangements announces that headquarters will be at the Biltmore Hotel.

The annual report of the Secretary-Treasurer reveals that the Association has 983 active members and that the *Journal of Southern History* has a circulation of 1,055, as of December 31, 1940. The rapid and continuous growth of the society is matter of comment wherever historians assemble. In only one year (1938) has the increase dropped below a hundred, but in another year (1936) it approached two hundred. As members of the guild in the field of southern history look back to the founding of the Association, it becomes evident that the time was propitious for inaugurating an organization devoted to the history of the region, although it was not clear at the time that the movement would meet with such generous support. The first issue of the *Journal* (February, 1935) carried a brief account of the organization meeting held in Atlanta on November 2, 1934, but it did not include the names of those who assembled there. Occasional inquiries as to the founders have come to the editorial office, and it therefore seems expedient to publish the list. Such information may also serve the future historian of the Association, who may desire to know the details of its beginning.

The call for the organization meeting went out over the signatures of Charles M. Knapp of the University of Kentucky, Philip M. Hamer of the University of Tennessee, Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia, and Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Two of the four, Professors Abernethy and Kendrick, were prevented from attending the meeting. According to the minutes recorded by Secretary Hamer, the following were present: Kathryn T. Abbey, Florida State College for Women; Kathleen Bruce, Hollins College; John B. Clark, Mercer University; E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia; Philip Davidson, Agnes Scott College; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University; Dorothy Dodd, Tallahassee, Florida; Jonathan T. Dorris, State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky; Fletcher M. Green, Emory University; Philip M. Hamer, University of Tennessee; Theodore H. Jack, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; Charles M. Knapp, University of Kentucky; Ross H. McLean, Emory University; C. Lisle Percy, Piedmont College; George Petrie, Alabama Polytechnic Institute; Walter B. Posey, Birmingham-Southern

College; Auxford S. Sartain, State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama; Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University. If any names are missing from the list, the editorial office will appreciate it if omissions are called to the *Journal's* attention.

PERSONAL

On October 21-22 a group of historians, archaeologists, ethnologists, and linguists assembled at Brenau College to study and discuss the inscriptions on the forty-seven "Dare Stones" discovered in the Carolinas and Georgia and purporting to relate to Raleigh's "Lost Colony." A committee of five, with S. E. Morison of Harvard University as chairman, was appointed "to express the conclusions, if any, of the conference." The following statement was unanimously adopted:

"At a meeting of 34 scholars invited to study the Dare Stones at Brenau College, and to study the problems connected with them, a committee was appointed to make a public statement. This statement represents the opinions of the committee only. . . .

"(1) The committee believes that the preponderance of evidence points to the authenticity of the stones.

"(2) Suggestions for further study of the stones are being made by the committee to Dr. Pearce. Until this investigation is concluded, no final conclusion can be reached."

The Dare Stones, a *Brenau Bulletin* (Vol. XXXI, No. 17, November 15, 1940, pp. [16]), by Haywood J. Pearce, Sr., presents a "complete list of the stones, with inscriptions," an account of their discovery, and their possible historical significance.

Rupert N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University is on leave during the current year to teach at the University of Texas.

Bruce T. McCully has been appointed assistant professor of history in the College of William and Mary. He takes the place of Frederick W. Hoewing who has joined the British American Ambulance Corps, Incorporated.

The Growth of North Carolina, a school textbook by A. R. Newsome and Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina, has been published by the World Book Company, 1940.

Mrs. Dorris Stone, archaeologist of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University, was recently appointed chairman of the Florida Historical Society's Committee on Archaeology. She has conducted extensive research in Mayan culture and field work in the Ulna Valley, the eastern coast of Spanish Honduras, including the neighboring Bay Island, and in Guatemala.

G. Leighton LaFuze, professor of history and political science at John B. Stetson University, has been appointed associate editor of the Florida Academy of Sciences *Proceedings* for the year 1940-1941. He will have responsibility for the editorial work on the social sciences papers.

The recipient of the McClung Award for 1940, Harry Williams of the University of Omaha, entitled his prize-winning essay "Andrew Johnson as a Member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War." The Award is a prize of fifty dollars given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the article which is adjudged to be the best of those printed in each number of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*. The judges in the 1940 competition were V. Alton Moody of Iowa State College, Merritt B. Pound of the University of Georgia, and Roy M. Robbins of Butler University.

The Florida Historical Society has secured the services of Watt Marchman, formerly of the department of history and government at Rollins College, as permanent corresponding secretary and librarian. He will be stationed at the Society's new headquarters at St. Augustine.

At the University of North Carolina Adolf L. Meisen, who holds the master of arts degree from Columbia University, has been appointed part-time instructor in history. His place as teaching fellow has been filled by the appointment of William E. Chance, who holds the master's degree from the University of Virginia.

Susie M. Ames, associate professor of history at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and Garrard Glenn of the University of Virginia law faculty will edit a volume of Virginia court records for the Committee on Legal History of the American Historical Association. This will be one of the series entitled "American Legal Records" being published by the committee. Records of the courts of the Eastern Shore of Virginia have been chosen as the first volume to be issued for Virginia. The records of the two counties in this region, Accomack and Northampton, date back to 1632 and are the oldest continuous county court records in the United States.

Announcement has been made of the election of William D. McCain of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History to the presidency of the Mississippi Library Association.

A. A. Rogers, whose address is Box 1041, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia, is compiling a volume on the family and family life in colonial Virginia. He will be grateful for information relative to the location of diaries, journals, letters, and other materials which show clearly the daily life of individuals and families of all classes.

Holland Thompson, a pioneer in the field of the New South, died on October 21 at the age of sixty-seven. He was born in Randolph County, North Carolina, and his attachment for his native state, evidenced by frequent vacations and visits there, manifested itself throughout his career. Professor Thompson received his bachelor's degree at the University of North Carolina in 1895, his master's at Columbia University in 1900, and the doctorate at the same institution in 1906. In 1935 the University of North Carolina conferred upon him the honorary LL.D. degree. For the past forty years he taught at the College of the City of New York, taking an active part in departmental and college administration. In the field of southern history he wrote *From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill* (1906) and *The New South* (1919), the latter a volume in the *Chronicles of America*; and many of his numerous articles published in professional, literary, and popular magazines dealt with problems of the New South. He also contributed *The Age of Invention* (1921) to the *Chronicles of America*. Among his other works are *History of Our Land* (1911), *Prisons of the Civil War* (1911), and *The United States* (1915). He served as editor of *The Book of Knowledge*, 20 volumes (1910-1911), *The People and the Trusts* (1912), *The World War* (1920), and *Lands and Peoples* (1929-1930). Professor Thompson was soon to retire from teaching duties, and had in mind the preparation of a comprehensive history of the New South period. Those who knew him intimately will recall his genial spirit and his penchant for conversing upon the South and her problems.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Southern Historical Association held a joint session with the American Historical Association in New York City on the afternoon of December 30. "The Southern 'Demagogue'" was the subject of a panel discussion led by Dan M. Robison of Vanderbilt University, Roger W. Shugg of Princeton University, Francis B. Simkins of State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia, H. Clarence Nixon of Vanderbilt University, and Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky.

The following committee assignments for 1941 have been announced by Benjamin B. Kendrick, president of the Southern Historical Association. *Committee on Local Arrangements*: Ross H. McLean, Emory University, and Philip Davidson, Agnes Scott College, cochairmen. *Committee on Nominations*: Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Virginia, chairman; R. S. Cotterill, Florida State College for Women; J. H. Easterby, College of Charleston; Walter B. Posey, Birmingham-Southern College; and Thornton Terhune, Tulane University. *Committee on Programs*: Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, chairman; Merritt B. Pound, University of Georgia; John D. Barnhart, Louisiana State University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; Bernard Mayo, University of Virginia;

and Austin L. Venable, University of Arkansas. *Committee on Membership*: Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, chairman; Rev. S. J. Corrigan, St. Louis University, St. Louis; Dorothy Dodd, Box 323, Jacksonville, Florida; John P. Dyer, Armstrong Junior College, Savannah; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, Lexington; Ralph B. Flanders, New York University, New York City; W. Neil Franklin, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.; R. L. Hildrup, East Carolina Teachers College, Greenville, North Carolina; William R. Hogan, Louisiana State University, University, Louisiana; William O. Lynch, Indiana University, Bloomington; Robert D. Meade, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia; James W. Moffitt, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City; Dan M. Robison, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee; Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, Austin; Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Charles G. Summerrell, University of Alabama, University, Alabama; Vernon L. Wharton, Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi; Richard E. Yates, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas; and Charles E. Cauthen, Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina.

The Society of American Archivists held its fourth annual meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, November 11-12. The program appropriately was of decided southern flavor. The initial session was devoted to "Agricultural Records of the South." James E. Ward, Jr., of Clemson College presided, and the following papers were presented: "Extension Service Records in Alabama," by Charles S. Davis of Alabama Polytechnic Institute; "Federal Records on Cotton Growing," by Theodore R. Schellenberg of The National Archives; and "Twentieth Century Agricultural Problems Revealed in Archives," by Everett E. Edwards of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. A luncheon conference on "Archival Materials of the Civil War and Reconstruction," with R. H. Woody of Duke University presiding, embraced a panel discussion led by Ella Lonn of Goucher College, William M. Robinson, Jr., of the Norfolk Navy Yard, Curtis W. Garrison of the Hayes Memorial Library, and Francis B. Simkins of Virginia State Teachers College, Farmville. A program dedicating the archival section of the Alabama Memorial Building was arranged for the afternoon of November 11. Frank M. Dixon, governor of Alabama, presided; Mrs. Marie B. Owen of the Alabama Department of Archives and History delivered an address of welcome; Thomas M. Owen, Jr., of The National Archives responded; a dedication address was given by Robert D. W. Connor, archivist of the United States; and William D. McCain of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History read a paper on the "Development of Archival Institutions in Alabama and the South." Winnie Allen of the University of Texas presided at a session on the morning of November 12 devoted to "Famous Personalities Revealed in Archival Records." "Fred Clayton Ainsworth" was discussed by S. F. Riepma of The National Archives and "Matthew Fontaine

Maury" by Lewis J. Darter of The National Archives. Other sessions considered the "Administrative History of Governmental Agencies in Relation to Archives," "Archival Administration," and "The Training of Archivists."

The Albemarle County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in the courthouse at Charlottesville, Virginia, April 4, 1940. The officers for the year 1940-1941 are Henry B. Goodloe, president; Mrs. C. Nelson Beck, vice-president; Glenn Curtis Smith, secretary; and Acheson L. Hench, treasurer. Quarterly meetings are held and the membership now numbers 225. One of the purposes of the Society is to collect and preserve original and secondary materials on the history of the county and vicinity. The Alderman Library of the University of Virginia is the repository for the Society's collections. Early in 1941 a volume of Papers will be published under the direction of Miss Mary Rawlings, Thomas P. Abernethy, and Lester J. Cappon, editor.

The State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina assembled for its fortieth annual meeting at Raleigh, December 4-6. Among the addresses of particular historical interest was one on "The Use and Abuse of History" by Robert D. W. Connor, archivist of the United States. Announcement was made that *The Good Old Days*, by David Cohn of Yanceyville, had received the Mayflower Cup award for the best original work by a resident North Carolinian published during the year ending August 31.

At the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society, held at Knoxville on October 12, President James D. Hoskins of the University of Tennessee delivered an address, "History of the University of Tennessee Beginning with the Administration of Dr. Charles W. Dabney." The following officers were elected for the year 1941 at the regular meeting of the Society at Knoxville on December 6: Samuel O. Houston, Knoxville, president; Samuel C. Williams, Johnson City, C. C. Justus, Knoxville, and John P. Brown, Chattanooga, vice-presidents; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville, secretary; Lucile Deaderick, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, treasurer; Jennings B. Sanders, University of Tennessee, and John S. Van Gilder, Knoxville, members of the Executive Committee. Announcement was made of the appointment by the Executive Committee of the following editors for the annual *Publications* of the Society: Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee, managing editor, and Verton M. Queener, Maryville College, editorial associate, for 1941; Philip M. Hamer, The National Archives, and Mary U. Rothrock, Tennessee Valley Authority, members of the Board of Editors for terms of three years.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is sponsoring a WPA project which is preparing a biographical index for the Library. This project is also assisting in indexing and cataloguing the collection of approximately two million documents and manuscripts relating to Indian affairs, private manuscripts, and county ar-

chives. In addition it is co-operating in the preparation of an index to the 120-volume set of interviews with pioneers and Indians (the Foreman Collection). A collection of letters from pioneer newspaper men has recently been presented to the Society. Its collections have been enriched by the presentation of autographed copies of works by Oklahoma historians, including Edward Everett Dale, Angie Debo, and Gaston L. Litton. The Society has purchased microfilm copies of files of early Arkansas, Texas, and Indian Territory newspapers from the Library of Congress. With WPA assistance the 18,000 volumes of Oklahoma newspapers are being indexed.

The recently organized Latimer County (Oklahoma) Historical Society is making a survey of research possibilities in county history. Plans are being made to interview or submit questionnaires to the pioneer residents as soon as possible to preserve their knowledge for the future. The president of this organization is James D. Morrison, Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Wilburton.

At the request of Herbert A. Kellar, chairman of the Committee on Historical Source Materials of the American Historical Association, the Council of the Association has appointed a Special Committee on the British Sessional Papers to study the possibilities of copying the House of Commons Reports, 1801 to 1900, for subsequent reproduction and use in this and other countries. For copying purposes it is fortunate that most, if not all of these reports, which comprise some 4,000,000 pages, can be located in various depositories in the United States. No one institution has a complete set. The members of the Committee on the British Sessional Papers are: Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Frank J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University; and C. W. deKiewiet, University of Iowa.

Under the sponsorship of the West Virginia State Department of Archives and History, a group assembled in Charleston on October 5 to organize a state historical society. A constitution and bylaws were adopted, and the following officers were elected: Charles C. McCamic of Wheeling, president; Festus P. Summers of Morgantown, vice-president; J. C. Sanders of Keyser, treasurer; and Mrs. Innis C. Davis of Charleston, executive secretary. One hundred and eighty charter members were enrolled.

A program arranged for the organization meeting included an address of welcome by Governor Homer A. Holt; papers on "Historical Societies of West Virginia in the Past and What They Have Accomplished," by Roy Bird Cook, and "Historical Activities of Federal and State Agencies," by Mrs. Eva Margaret Carnes; a forum on "Objectives of the State Historical Society," in which Charles H. Ambler, W. K. Woolery, O. D. Lambert, and Leonard Rigglesman

participated; a luncheon conference at which several presidents of county societies presented papers; and an address by Thomas P. Abernethy on "Progress and Purposes of Historical Research in the South."

The proceedings of the meeting, including several of the above papers, have been published in the *Biennial Report*, 1938-1940, of the State Department of Archives and History. The Department established a quarterly magazine, *West Virginia History*, in 1939.

The Library of the Florida Historical Society has been moved from the Willow Branch Public Library building in Jacksonville to adequate and attractive quarters in the Alcazar building in St. Augustine, the city in which the Society was first established in 1856. The new quarters were provided rent free through the courtesy of the city of St. Augustine. The Alcazar building was erected in 1888 by Henry M. Flagler, leading developer of the Florida East Coast. It was also Mr. Flagler who presented the Society's Library with its first accessions, forming the nucleus of the present Library and Museum. The first item presented was a first edition of Garcilasso de la Vega's *La Florida del Inca* (Lisbona, 1605).

The University of Arkansas has established a Manuscript Division, primarily as a repository for manuscripts dealing with Arkansas and southern history.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Among recent acquisitions of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina are the following: additions to the Braxton B. Comer, L. M. Nutt, W. F. Martin, Peter E. Smith, and William Ruffin Smith collections; 2 scrapbooks of Colonel J. L. Ludlow, engineer, of Winston-Salem, North Carolina; a volume of the reminiscences of Miss Ellen Mordecai, Richmond, Virginia, and Warrenton, North Carolina; microfilmed copies of the Forrest Papers, consisting of diaries, account books, logs, order books, and letter books of Captain French Forrest (1796-1866), U. S. N. and C. S. N., and of his son, Dr. Douglas Forrest, C. S. N. and C. S. A.; a small collection of letters written to Exum P. Lewis (1836-1926), eminent physicist of California; the diary of Dr. James Stuart of Beaufort, North Carolina; the war letters of Judge W. B. Fleming of Savannah, Georgia, and of his son, Judge W. O. Fleming of Bainbridge, Georgia; the plantation diary (7 vols.) of Franklin A. Hudson of Bayou Goula, Louisiana; a large collection of the letters, papers, scrapbooks, and speeches of Governor Richard Keith Call (1791-1862) of Florida, and his family (under seal); a collection of the papers of the Brevard family of North Carolina and Florida (under seal); a diary (7 vols.) kept at Locust Grove and Chatham Hill plantations of the Walker and Temple families in King and Queen County, Virginia; the diary (2 vols.) of Lieutenant Francis Thornton Chew (1841-1893), C. S. N.; a microfilm of 160 issues of the *State Gazette* of South

Carolina, 1787-1790; and numerous volumes of industrial and mercantile records and autograph albums.

The Library of the Florida Historical Society has recently acquired a number of original letters of General W. G. M. Davis of the Civil War, presented by his granddaughter, Miss Mary Lamar Davis, Tallahassee; newspaper clippings pertaining to the history of Jacksonville, presented by Mrs. I. F. Parmenter, Orange Park; several early *Legislative Journals of the State of Florida*; and a number of photographs of artifacts discovered by Charles D. Higgs on the Florida East Coast, presented by Mr. Higgs. Florida maps recently added to the Society's collection include *La Florida* (1582), by Auctore Hieron Chiaves; *Florida et Apalche* (1605), by Corneille Wytfliet; *A New and Accurate Map of East and West Florida* (1760?), by T. Kitchin; *Florida, the North part of the Gulf of Mexico, with the adjacent territories belonging to Great Britain and France* (1763?), by Herman Moll; *Florida* (c. 1845), by S. Augustus Mitchell; and numerous others of later date.

The Lincoln Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library (Springfield: Published by the Library, 1940, pp. 21, illustrations), by Paul M. Angle, "is the first of a series of booklets describing the resources of the . . . Library." The collection now includes over two hundred autograph letters and documents, ranging in time from March, 1831, to April 5, 1865; about 4,500 titles of printed Lincolniana, embracing books, broadsides, and pamphlets; several manuscript collections bearing on Lincoln and his period, as the Christopher C. Augur, Nathaniel P. Banks, Orville H. Browning, John A. McClelland-William J. Butler, Nicolay and Hay, Jesse J. Ricks, and Richard Yates (father and son) papers. There are also excellent files of Illinois newspapers. All of these are described and evaluated in Mr. Angle's booklet.

Some Phases of Graduate Work in the Southern Regions Since 1935 (n. p., n. d., pp. 48), by Charles W. Pipkin of Louisiana State University, is an address delivered before the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools at its annual meeting held in Memphis, October 23-24, 1940. It surveys trends and present status and proposes a program for improvement of graduate schools in the South. Several appendices record the distribution of graduate degrees by states and for the South as a whole during the past quadrennium.

It is impossible to notice the issuance of all Survey of Federal Archives and Historical Records Survey publications (the total number of titles is now over a thousand), but attention will be called to the initiation of new series, or the completion of major series.

A Bibliography of Research Projects Reports Check List of Historical Records Survey Publications, W.P.A. Technical Series Research and Records Projects Bibliography, No. 4 (Washington: Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Ad-

ministration, pp. 46), was released on September 12, 1940. With periodic supplements this list will constitute a guide to the ever-increasing avalanche of WPA bibliographical aids.

The Guide to Manuscript Collections in Louisiana, The Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Vol. I (University: The Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, pp. 55), edited by William Ransom Hogan, describes eighty-six selected collections in the custody of the department. A second edition is being prepared.

Thirty-six pages of *Additions and Corrections to the American Imprints Inventory: Location Symbols for Libraries in United States* have just been distributed in mimeographed form.

The church archives inventory in Mississippi has produced two volumes of more than usual interest in *Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi: Protestant Episcopal Church Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson: Historical Records Survey, pp. 146), and *Inventory of the Church and Synagogue Archives of Mississippi: Jewish Congregations and Organizations* (Jackson: Mississippi State Conference B'nai B'rith, pp. 41).

The maps illustrating the evolution of county boundaries in Texas, and the indexes in the *Index to Probate Cases of Texas*, appear to constitute valuable research tools for biographers, genealogists, and local historians. Indexes for six counties have appeared to date.

Of particular interest to students of the Mississippi Valley is the first volume of *Transcriptions of Manuscript Collections of Louisiana: No. 1. The Favrot Papers, 1695-1769* (New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, pp. 123). This first of a contemplated thirteen volumes is described "as the product of an experiment, aimed at preservation and distribution of especially important accumulations of source materials with WPA labor." The material in the initial volume is in French.

Except for the publication of the Department of the Interior, in the states of Texas and Oklahoma, the *Inventory of Federal Archives* in those two states may be considered complete. A recent check shows that inventories of the Federal courts, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of War, the Department of Justice, and the Department of the Navy have been published and distributed for Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Texas. Inventories of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, and the Veterans' Administration have been published for Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Texas.

The thirteen volumes of *Transcriptions of Parish Records of Louisiana, No. 26. Jefferson Parish, Series I. Police Jury Minutes* have been duplicated and are being distributed. The years covered are 1834-1938. The five volumes of *Police Jury Minutes* of Iberville Parish are also completed in mimeographed form. These volumes cover the years 1850-1938. General indexes for both series are being prepared.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "A Lost Man of Maryland," by George T. Ness, Jr., in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (December).
- "Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776," by Joseph T. Wheeler, *ibid.*
- "Alexander Contee Hanson, Federalist Partisan," by Joseph H. Schauinger, *ibid.*
- "Decatur in Portraiture," by Charles L. Lewis, *ibid.*
- "Eighteenth Century American Imprints in the Society's Dielman Collection of Music," by William T. Upton, *ibid.*
- "Maryland before the Revolution," by Charles A. Barker, in the *American Historical Review* (October).
- "The West Virginia-Ohio Boundary," by Eugene O. Porter, in *West Virginia History* (January).
- "The Virginia Board of Agriculture, 1841-1843," by Rodney H. True, in *Agricultural History* (July).
- "The Colonial Churches of the Eastern Shore of Virginia," by George C. Mason, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (October).
- "The Bygone 'Subberbs of James Cittie,'" by H. C. Forman, *ibid.*
- "St. George Tucker *versus* Jedidiah Morse on the Subject of Williamsburg," by Ralph H. Brown, *ibid.*
- "Amelia Sulphur Springs, Virginia," by W. R. Turner, *ibid.*
- "Nathaniel Beverley Tucker in Missouri," by John F. McDermott, *ibid.*
- "Beverley Park and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," by Alfred Bagby, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Reverend James Muir, D. D., and Washington's Orphan Wards," by William B. McGroarty, *ibid.*
- "Some Jacobean Links between America and the Orient," by Boies Penrose, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October).
- "George Washington Custis Lee," by James L. Howe, *ibid.*
- "Early Attempts to Teach Agriculture in Old Virginia," by H. G. Good, *ibid.*
- "Southern Expectation of British Intervention in the Civil War: As Reflected in the Newspapers of Richmond, Virginia," by Schuyler D. Hoslett, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October).
- "North Carolina's Ratification of the Federal Constitution," by Albert R. Newsome, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October).
- "Frankfort, Capital of Kentucky, About 1860," by Willard R. Jillson, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (October).
- "The Blair Family in the Civil War," by Grace N. Taylor, *ibid.*
- "Virginia County Court Records," by Martha W. Hiden, *ibid.*
- "Hamilton R. Gamble, Missouri's War Governor," by Marguerite Potter, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (October).

- "Dr. Daniel Morris Hailey, 1841-1919," by Robert L. Williams, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (September).
- "Gustavus Loomis, Commandant Fort Gibson and Fort Towson," by Carolyn T. Foreman, *ibid.*
- "Reverend Stephen Foreman, Cherokee Missionary," by Minta R. Foreman, *ibid.*
- "Governor Jonas Wolf and Governor Palmer Simeon Mosely," by John B. Meserve, *ibid.*
- "The Missionary Work of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America in Oklahoma," I, by Richard H. Harper, *ibid.*
- "The Civil War in the Indian Territory, 1861," continued, by Dean Trickett, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "A Trip to Washington in 1811," contributed by Thomas W. Kemp, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (December).
- "Excerpts from Swann's 'Prison Life at Fort Delaware,'" edited by Elizabeth Cometti, in *West Virginia History* (January).
- "West Virginians in the American Revolution," continued, assembled and edited by Ross B. Johnston, *ibid.*
- "D'Auteville's Description of Williamsburg, and of the American Troops near Williamsburg, in 1781," contributed by Stephen Bonsol, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (October).
- "Documents Relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and to the History of the Church in Virginia," continued, contributed by Herbert L. Ganter, *ibid.*
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- "Captain Christopher Hudson Insures Jefferson's Safety," contributed by Rector Hudson, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October).
- "California's Larkin Settles Old Debts: A View of North Carolina, 1847-1856," edited by Robert J. Parker and David L. Corbitt, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (October).
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- "Early Marriage Records of Madison County, Ky.," continued, compiled by W. Rodes Shackelford, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (October).
- "The Letters of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky," edited by James A. Padgett, *ibid.*

- "Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries," continued, compiled and edited by G. Glenn Clift, *ibid.*
- "The Diary of Assistant Surgeon Leonard McPhail on His Journey to the Southwest in 1835," edited by Harold W. Jones, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (September).
- "Chief Kias," edited by Theodore A. Ediger, *ibid.*

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- "The Crisis of 1850 and Its Effect on Political Parties in Georgia," by Horace Montgomery, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (December).
- "Was Georgia a Debtor Colony?" by Albert B. Saye, *ibid.*
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- "The Trial of Tishomingo," by W. A. Evans, *ibid.*
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- "Indians of Grant Parish," by Adele Nash Ethridge, *ibid.*
- "Confederate Western Ambitions," by W. H. Watford, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "Law and Lawlessness on the Texas Frontier, 1875-1890," by W. C. Holden, *ibid.*
- "David G. Burnet," by Julia Beazley, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's Plantation Diary, April 6-December 15, 1818," edited by J. H. Easterby, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (October).
- "The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1765-1775," continued, contributed by Mabel L. Webber, copied by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston, S. C.," contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Wills of South Carolina Huguenots," edited by Katharine B. Mazzyck, in the *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* (1940).

- "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," XVII, edited and translated by D. C. Corbitt, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (December).
- "Old Canoochee Backwoods Sketches," XII, by Julia E. Harn, *ibid.*
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- "Christ Church and General Butler," edited by John S. Kendall, *ibid.*
- "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, May-June, 1762," LXXXV, edited by G. Lugano, revised by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana, June, 1784," by Laura L. Porteous, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "De Bellisle on the Texas Coast," edited by Henri Folmer, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October).
- "Spain's Indian Policy in Texas," translated by J. Villasana Haggard, *ibid.*

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- "Manners and Humors of the American Frontier," by Thomas D. Clark, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (October).
- "President Jefferson and His Successor," by Roy J. Honeywell, in the *American Historical Review* (October).
- "Carl Sandburg's Lincoln," by Charles W. Ramsdell, in the *Southern Review* (Winter).
- "Peripatetic Coffin," by Robert Walker, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (October).
- "Slavery and the Civil War," by Thomas P. Govan, in the *Sewanee Review* (October-December).
- "Railroads in National Defense, 1829-1848," by E. G. Campbell, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December).
- "Some Considerations on the Frontier Concept of Frederick Jackson Turner," by Murray Kane, *ibid.*
- "Western Republicans and the Tariff in 1860," by Thomas M. Pitkin, *ibid.*
- "A Travelogue of 1849," edited by Earle D. Ross, *ibid.*
- "The Military Record of Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin," by P. L. Scanlan, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (December).
- "A Crusade to Extend Yankee Culture," by R. L. Power, in the *New England Quarterly* (December).
- "The Frontier and Frontiersmen of Turner's Essays," by George W. Pierson, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (October).
- "A Quarter-Century of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History," by W. B. Hesseltine, in the *Journal of Negro History* (October).

"The Negro in the Westward Movement," by W. Sberman Savage, *ibid.*

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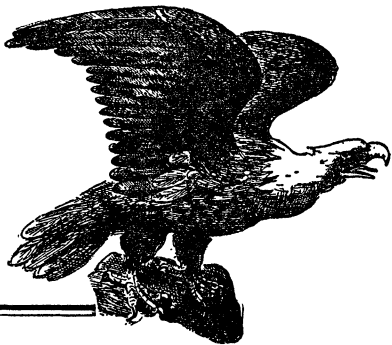
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